

Abstract

Previous sociolinguistic studies done in Norway have explored attitudes toward native speaker and Norwegian accented varieties of English. This study adds a new angle by comparing the attitudes of first language speakers of English from Canada and second language speakers of English from Norway toward SC (Standard Canadian) and NE (Norwegian accented English) accents. An online survey was undertaken by 107 English teachers, of which 50 self-identified as Norwegian and 57 as Canadian teachers of English. Respondents evaluated 3 matched-guise audio clips consisting of one SC accent, one light NE accent and one heavy NE accent. Norwegians evaluated the SC accent more positively than Canadians in 3 out of 5 categories and both NE accents more negatively than Canadians in 9 out of 10 categories; further they were considerably more negative toward the heavy NE accent than the light NE accent. A possible explanation of this contrast stems from the inability of Canadians to recognize Norwegian accents, as 65 % of Canadians interpreted both the heavy and light NE accents as examples of native speaker English accents. The findings suggest that attitude judgements from outside parties toward NE accents may be directed by the ability to recognize the provenance of the accents. In-depth interviews of 3 Norwegian and 3 Canadian English teachers strengthened the findings by revealing feelings of "correctness" toward native speaker accents in the Norwegian group and a more ambivalent, communication based attitude in the Canadian group. Norwegian respondents felt that acquiring native-like accents led to confident language teachers and students. Implications of this study contribute to an understanding of ESL teaching in Canada and ELF/EFL teaching in Norway.

Keywords

English as a lingua franca, norm-providing/norm-dependent, native/non-native speaker, ESL, standard language ideologies, attitudes, accents, confidence, global English, language pedagogy

Dedication

I'd like to express my appreciation for my supervisor, Daniel Weston, for all the excellent insight and guidance. Recognition also needs to be given to my fellow linguistics students, who introduced me to Eurovision, karsk, grillmat and tivoli, as well as other gems of Norwegian culture, while being a source of academic inspiration and support. The thesis would not have been possible without the input from my interviewees and all those who responded to my survey, for whom I am grateful. Thanks must be given to little Willow, who arrived right in the middle of thesis writing as a shining beacon of all the good times to come, as well as to Sarah, whose support and love is always present from afar. Thanks to Ben for his contagious, insatiable thirst for understanding the world. I feel so blessed to be their sister.

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Rachel Dykeman

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Preface

Upon moving from English speaking Canada to Norway, I was struck immediately by two factors. Firstly, Norwegians were impressively good at English- nearly everyone I encountered was able to competently express themselves in English, regardless of the subject matter or setting. I often came across Norwegians that I mistook as expats from English speaking countries. The transition for an English speaking person moving to Norway is fairly effortless, as English is everywhere: cinemas, radio and television programs, university lectures, job postings. My second reflection, however, was that despite the abundance of English in Norway, Norwegians themselves seemed to be extremely harsh critics of their own English.

Often, my interlocutors apologized profusely for their speech or were reluctant to converse when they found out I was a native English speaker, preferring to listen to my limited Norwegian over using their own English. These experiences inspired me to probe deeper into English use and attitudes in Norway. A little digging into past academic research confirmed that my experiences were part of a bigger trend in Norway, as the literature suggested that Norwegian accented English was stigmatized in Norway. My interest was piqued. I wanted to understand why Norwegians felt as they did toward Norwegian accented English, and what impact their attitudes might have on English language learning in Norway. Feeling that my own perspective was at odds with Norwegian attitudes on this subject, I was inspired to juxtapose the attitudes of Norwegians with native English speakers from my home country of Canada. I was curious as to whether native English speakers from Canada would evaluate Norwegian English in a similar fashion as Norwegians evaluated it. This curiosity sparked the beginning of this research.

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List of abbreviations

CPH	Critical period hypothesis
EFL	English as a foreign language
EIL	English as an international language
ELF	English as a lingua franca
ELT	English language teaching
ENL	English as a native language
ESL	English as a second language
ESLA	English second language acquisition
GE	Global English(es)
L1	First or mother tongue language
L2	Second language
NS	Native speaker
NNS	Non-native speaker
NE	Norwegian accented English
SC	Standard Canadian English
SLA	Second language acquisition
TEFL	Teaching English as a foreign language
TESL	Teaching English as second language
WE	World English(es)
WS(S)E	World standard spoken English

A note about terminology

There is not room within the confines of this thesis to discuss why certain terms are problematic in linguistic contexts. Some terms used within this thesis could be challenged as incorrect or inappropriate, or even non-existent. However, as it is inefficient to spell out the challenges associated with these terms every time they are used, a quick note will be made here about the terms ‘standard English’, ‘Norwegian accents’, and ‘neutral accents’. In this thesis, **Standard English accents** refer to accents that are generally accepted by Anglophone language communities as being ‘the correct pronunciation’. They are often used by high status people, or through public broadcast channels (Lippi-Green, 1997). It may be feasible that written Standard English varieties exist, but it is highly debatable that true ‘Standard Spoken English’ exists; however that debate will not be addressed in this thesis. The concept of **Norwegian English accents** is used here to refer to the transference of Norwegian phonetics and intonation onto English, though many World English scholars would argue that ‘Norwegian English’, as an independent variety of global English, does not exist or is only in an early stage of development. Lastly, the term **neutral accents** is used to refer to spoken English that is not immediately traceable to any single Anglophone community. This concept is also problematic, firstly because it implies that all other accents are ‘not neutral’, and secondly as theoretically it is impossible. All spoken languages occur within a location and community that will influence accent. Even if its provenance is not easily recognizable, no accent is truly ‘neutral’.

1.0 Introduction

"... it is just too deeply ingrained in my brain or body that some English is sort of better than other English. I know it should be more about people understanding what you are saying. But if I listened to a very 'Norwegian sounding' English and a very 'British sounding' English, yes I admit, I would definitely think the British English is more 'correct'. I don't want to admit that, but that is just how it is. It is just ingrained in me."

- Camilla, English teacher from Norway

In the textbook *English Teaching Strategies*, Drew and Sørheim (2011) discuss teaching methods aimed at English language teaching in Norwegian schools, for pupils aged 10 to 16. They introduce the topic of English pedagogy in Norway by reviewing the paradigm shifts that occurred in the Norwegian curriculum between 1959 and 1997, pointing to the major change from grammar-translation¹ based methods to a focus on diverse language, oral skills, and creativity. Drew and Sørheim (2011) argued that the drastic shift in teaching style that occurred with the implementation of the *M87* curriculum in 1987 brought with it a positive change to English teaching in Norway. Teachers were instructed that not all 'mistakes' or 'errors' in the language classroom needed to be corrected in order to facilitate language learning. It was emphasized that tolerant, communication based methods produced better second language acquisition results. Ultimately, Drew and Sørheim (2011) felt that Norwegian language teachers became aware that 'mistakes' and 'errors' were a natural part of language learning, and that most language students benefited from the more relaxed, communication based classroom.

Interestingly, though, as Drew and Sørheim (2011) outline different strategies to deal with the individual components of language acquisition, it appears that they themselves do not apply the sentiment that 'not all mistakes need to be corrected' to every aspect of language pedagogy. In a chapter labeled "Focusing on pronunciation", Drew and Sørheim (2011) outline aspects of English pronunciation that Norwegians find difficult. They suggest that failing to acquire 'good' pronunciation may cause native speakers to 'react'; the ultimate aim outlined in their teaching

¹ The grammar-translation method is a method of foreign language training based on written translation, as such it is largely focused on grammar. The method originated with the translation of religious texts in the 1500's, but may still be used today (Griffiths & Parr, 2001).

strategy, and a key criteria in their oral language grading scheme, is thus to lose traces of Norwegian pronunciation or intonation in spoken English. The best way to avoid Norwegian accented English, they suggest, is to “break down the habits from our [Norwegian] native language” by exposure to as much “authentic spoken language as possible” (2011) in the language classroom.

This attitude, and the teaching method that follows from it, is common in second language classrooms as teachers and learners naturally turn toward native speaker examples as a model of how languages should be spoken. In fact, Drew and Sørheim’s (2011) feeling that Norwegians should emulate native English accents when speaking English is an attitude that appears to extend beyond language classrooms and into Norwegian culture and society as a whole. These attitudes seem to have evolved to such an extent that language users who speak English with traces of Norwegian pronunciation may be evaluated as having poor language skills, and ridiculed by other Norwegians.

Such sentiments are visible through public reactions to Norwegian accented English. Occurrences of Norwegian politicians with Norwegian accented English trigger ridicule on social media; both Thorbjørn Jagland and Jens Stoltenberg are renowned in the country for their 'terrible English'². In particular Jagland's speeches at past Nobel prize ceremonies have unleashed torrents of negative comments from Norwegians; the overwhelming negativity towards Jagland's English initiated discussions about 'language bullying' (Larsen, 2012) from the Norwegian Youth Language Organization on NRK³. Norwegian accented English appears to be a great source of humour in Norway as it often finds its way into televised comedy programs⁴; it also seems a source of concern for those who claim that poor English skills may inhibit international communication and affect the growth of Norwegian businesses (Hellekjær, 2007; Selmer, 2006).

Some academic research has confirmed the observable trend that Norwegians have rigid attitudes about how English should be spoken. Studies by Rindal (2010, 2013) and Risan (2014)

²Articles such as "Flau over politikernes englesk" [Embarrassed by politicians English] (Myklebust, 2008) or "Too much sutring" (Thurmann-Nielsen, 2008) suggest that Norway's international reputation is negatively influenced due to Norwegian politicians' poor English skills.

³ NRK is Norway's national broadcasting channel; the Norwegian Youth Language Organization is the author's translation of 'Norsk Målungdomen', a group dedicated to ensuring linguistic equality in Norway, particularly in light of dialect diversity and the two written language forms, *bokmål* and *nynorsk*.

⁴ The Christmas special "The Julekalendar" (1994), inspired by a Danish program, is an example of Norwegians using Norwegian English comically; NRK's 'Underholdningsavdelingen' comedy program often incorporates Norwegian accented English in their skits.

reveal that most Norwegians have more positive attitudes toward, and aspire to speak, varieties of native speaker English rather than Norwegian accented English. Attitudes toward English in Norway seem to indicate a norm-providing/norm-dependent⁵ relationship between Norwegian English speakers and native English speakers, suggesting that Norwegians are dependent on standard native speaker English varieties as examples of how English should or should not be spoken.

Research indicates that Norwegians tend to prefer native speaker varieties of English. However today, in light of the vast growth of English, the majority of global English scholars claim with vehemence that the English language no longer belongs exclusively to native speakers (Widdowson, 1994). Kachru (1985) posits that English should not be restricted to being a vehicle for Anglophone cultures (Kachru, 1985), while Canagarajah (1999) and Pennycook (1998) argue that failure to recognize and validate the diversity in English varieties and uses awakens not so distant memories of linguistic imperialism. Nevertheless, despite many theorists celebrating and welcoming diversity in all aspects of global English (including Jenkins, 2006, 2015; Seidlhofer, 2004, 2005; Kachru, 1985, 1992; and Kirkpatrick, 2007, 2010), Norwegians themselves seem reluctant to claim Norwegian accented English as their own.

Norwegians are critical of Norwegian accented English, yet English is not learnt exclusively for intra-national purposes in Norway, but more often as a key to international communication. Thus, it is relevant to ask, in what way do 'outsiders' perceive Norwegian accented English? Ideally, this study will fill a gap left by previous research by revealing whether Norwegians are their own worst critics when it comes to English pronunciation, or whether Canadians – as examples of the native speakers it appears most Norwegians wish to emulate – also prefer standardized native speaker norms over Norwegian accented English. While Canada is often hailed as tolerant of diversity (Munro, 2003), some research suggests that Canadians discriminate against foreign-accented English in Canada (Kalin & Rayko, 1978; Munro, 2003). Comparing Norwegian and Canadian attitudes toward Standard Canadian and Norwegian accented English will allow for an exploration of the way spoken English variation is perceived from two countries that have vastly different relationships with English. Ideally, this comparison

⁵ Norm-providing, norm-developing and norm-dependent relationships will be discussed in chapter 2.2c.

will reveal to what extent aspects of global English theory are apparent in the two target countries, which are often placed on opposite ends of Kachru's (1992) Concentric Circle⁶ model.

Although English in Canada is the mother tongue language for much of the population, the use of English globally is, as Widdowson (1994) suggests, no longer limited to native speaker contexts. Naturally, most Canadian ESL learners have the aim of integrating into a native speaker community rather than becoming global communicators; nevertheless ELF theories regarding pronunciation teaching could contribute to understanding and improving ESL pedagogy in Canada. Global English scholars today agree that the goal of native-like speech in English language classrooms is utopian, unrealistic and constraining for the L2 learner (Alptekin, 2002). These sentiments apply both to English language learners in English speaking countries *and* countries where English does not have an official status. A global English approach to language teaching may shift the emphasis away from native speaker models of English toward localized or L1 influenced English varieties, and offer pronunciation role models that are more attainable for students.

In Norway, a global English teaching model may be beneficial to students, yet Norwegians are unlikely to accept a paradigm shift that incorporates a global approach to English teaching (Jenkins, 2006a) if attitudes toward Norwegian accented English remain negative. Rindal (2013) suggests that a large minority of Norwegians youths may be developing a more tolerant perspective to non-native speaker English. It remains to be seen to what extent the historical tendency to favour native-speaker accents (Andreasson, 1994) is still alive and thriving in Norway, or whether a re-orientation away from native speaker norms is underway in terms of pronunciation and language teaching. In Canada, integration aims may steer pronunciation models, yet it is still of interest whether Canadians are aware of the implications of the status of English as a lingua franca. Juxtaposing how Canadians and Norwegians evaluate the target accents will offer insight into whether *intra-country* evaluations of localized English varieties align with the evaluations of 'outsiders'. Such insight will provide material for a discussion on the extent to which native speaker English varieties are, or are not, idealized as preferred teaching models in the target countries, such as is suggested in Drew and Sørheim's (2011) book of *English Teaching Strategies* directed toward Norwegian English learners.

⁶ Kachru (1992), see chapter 2.2c for an exploration of the Concentric Circles of English model.

1.2 Aims and research questions

Specifically, the aim of this thesis is to understand attitudes towards accents in the language classroom, with reference to both the accents of teachers and the desired aims of language learners. The motivation is to understand the equivocal attitudes that surfaced in Jenkins (2006a) research, where she found that non-native teachers expressed both a desire to support accent variation in the classroom and a reluctance to part with standard language ideologies. In addition, the thesis is heavily inspired by a similar attitude study conducted in Austria by Dalton-Puffer, Kaltenböck, and Smit (1997) whose findings revealed a strong preference for standard native accent forms amid second language students and a negative attitude toward their own localized English accent. In an era when English is increasingly used as a global language, research suggests a tension between a growing acceptance of variation and a lingering desire to adhere to standard ideologies (Timmis, 2002). As the thesis operates on the belief that both second and first language speakers hold attitudes towards varieties of English, and that these attitudes greatly affect language learning (Gardner, 2007), the aim is to reveal to what extent, and in what ways, attitudes exist today in language classrooms across Canada and Norway.

Concisely, the aim is to determine to what degree Jenkins' (1998s) predictions of a "radical rethink" among language teachers is underway, thus an attitude survey targeted practising or pre-service teachers. In the hopes of adding a more nuanced perspective to the few attitudinal studies previously conducted in Norway, the thesis is structured as a comparative study that investigates the attitudes of native English teachers from Canada and non-native English speakers from Norway towards the two target accents, Standard Canadian and Norwegian accented English⁷. The research will juxtapose and compare perceptions of a variety of global English from the Inner and Expanding Circles. Specifically, the study aims to answer the following research questions:

- 1) What attitudes do the two teacher groups have toward the target accents?
- 2) How appropriate do the two teacher groups feel the accents are in the language classroom?
- 3) What implications do the findings of this study bring to the language classroom?

⁷ Definitions of the target accents are included in chapter 2.3c

Based on survey responses to a matched-guise test and in-depth interviews, the thesis probes deeper into past studies by exploring to what extent Norwegian teachers express a preference for native English standards in the classroom, or are open toward incorporating a global English style teaching models. It is predicted that attitudes toward Norwegian accented English will be negative in Norway, but the lack of a similar study makes it difficult to predict how Canadians will react toward Norwegian accented English. Understanding how English speakers from the "outside world" perceive Norwegian accented English may be a valuable tool in language classrooms in Norway, and may help teachers and learners develop realistic pronunciation goals. While the hope is that the results of this research will contribute to language teaching in Canada and Norway, the thesis attempts only to reveal existing attitudes, not to determine whether or to what degree specific attitudes affect actual language acquisition.

2.0 Literature review

2.1 Why English? The historical and political context

2.1a How English became "the most influential language in the world"

In 2016, few would argue with Seidlhofer (2005) when she claimed that, despite being rejected by some and welcomed by others, English today is undeniably the global lingua franca and arguably the most influential language in the world. The concept of a global contact language is not new; trade and colonization have for centuries brought communities together, forcing speakers to adopt a mutual language in order to communicate. Examples of contact languages are abundant throughout history⁸, many of which have evolved from pidgins into creoles with their own native speakers⁹ (Kirkpatrick, 2007). Yet while contact languages are not novel, the status of English today is nevertheless unprecedented.

A succinct explanation of the spread of English focuses on the specific historical circumstances, and consequent attitudes, that secured English its current status. Two factors are mainly responsible for bringing English to its pre-eminent position. At the turn of the 20th century the British Empire was the land on which the sun never set, which meant, according to Kachru (1992), that the English language was literally baking. In addition the postwar economic boom of the United States led the USA to act as a magnet for international business and trade (Jenkins 2015) and secured English a spot in the offices and media channels of the economically elite. Jenkins (2015) calls the colonial spread of English the "two diasporas", referring to the pioneering efforts that occurred to such a degree throughout the nineteenth century that English came to be represented on every continent. The first wave, or diaspora, refers to the major conquests that birthed what we know today as the "core" of native English speaking countries: USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand (Crystal, 2012). The second diaspora, resulting from the colonization efforts of the 1800's onwards, brought the language into Africa and Asia and lead to the formation of "New Englishes" (Crystal 2012, Jenkins 2015).

⁸ "Latin was once a major international language...French, too, has been such a language...and so [too] Greek, Arabic, Spanish and Russian" (Crystal, 2012).

⁹ Pidgins are simplified languages that adopt mixed elements of both contact languages while Creoles occur when these created languages begin to have native speakers (Crystal, 2012). Researchers disagree about whether pidgins should be included in lists of global English varieties, especially as they are not always mutually comprehensible across the spectrum of English speakers.

In addition to the geographical spread of the language through colonial efforts, it was in many ways the *attitudes* of influential figures and politicians that inflated the reputation of English and spread tautologies about the natural superiority and 'elevation' of the language. Crystal (2015) points out that it is above all power that ushers a language into a global position. This, in turn, depends not on the *number* of people who speak a certain language, but rather *who* it is that is speaking it. Pennycook (1998) is wary of the unequal power relations that helped secure English its position and warns that the colonial background of English still seeps its way into current attitudes about the language. He claims that the English language continues to be glorified by modern scholars, due to the tendency to describe the phenomenon of global English using a tone that still exhorts the "wondrous spread of English" and its remarkable "feats", as though the language itself should be praised for its conquest (1994). Further, Pennycook argues that scholars often fail to recognize the true reason behind why English became the global language, which was primarily unequal power relations.

Looking back at examples of the nineteenth century attitudes toward English may be enlightening when exploring modern day attitudes toward the language. The sentiments of the Reverend J. George (1867) reflect the common belief in the superiority of English in the era of British colonization:

As the mind grows, language grows, and adapts itself to the thinking of the people. Hence a highly civilized race, will ever have, a highly accomplished language. The English tongue is, in all senses, a very noble one. I apply the term noble with a rigorous exactness.

(George, 1867)

These types of sentiments were often reiterated in the writings of influential people from the nineteenth century¹⁰ and the trend makes it clear that as English gained ground it also developed a reputation as a symbol of political unity, stability and civility. Naturally, overtly imperialistic attitudes toward linguistic assimilation, which assume that those who do not speak English are living in linguistic deprivation, would today be rejected as dangerously hegemonic. Such attitudes were, however, abundant and tightly connected to the diasporas that brought English to every corner of the globe.

¹⁰ For more examples of early British attitudes toward English see Rolleston (1911) or de Quincey (1862).

One additional factor cannot go unnamed: technology. The rapid expansion of new technologies at the end of the twentieth century made global communication effortless and instantaneous, and technological advancement brought with it English as the language of popular music, broadcasting, personal computers and video games; it even became the lingua franca for illicit activities such as pornography and drugs (Jenkins, 2015). In particular American media pervaded cultures globally. English is spoken not only by politicians, but also celebrities. Jenkins (2015) suggests that visions of *personal advantage*, inspired perhaps by the stars from the big screen, may be a motivation for young speakers today to acquire English. The current power of American culture is so strong that some scholars even refer to the process of globalization as 'Americanization' (Ladegaard & Sachdev, 2006; Ritzer, 2011). At any rate American English, like British English before it, has found its way across most geographic and cultural borders and its provenance is recognized in most regions of the globe.

As a culmination of the factors discussed above, English has become the global language of today, thriving outside the realm of the native speaker. Today, non-native speakers outnumber native speakers of English by approximately 4 to 1 (Crystal, 2012), which leads many researchers to argue that the language has become far more characterized by its non-native speakers than its native speakers (Kirkpatrick, 2010). Many are in consensus that English is no longer exclusively 'owned' by the native speaker (Widdowson, 1994). Interest, and consequently research, in the field of English variation has greatly expanded; in the past 25 years the study of global English has grown from a little discussed topic to a subject of intense scrutiny and debate (Jenkins, 2006a). As a result, there now exists a myriad of paradigms that analyze and explore the use of English globally.

2.2 Who speaks English today? Theories and models describing English

2.2a A proliferation of terminology: making sense of it all

Due to the overwhelming abundance of terminology in the field, a brief summary is necessary before delving further into theory. *Global English(es)* is used here as a neutral reference to all varieties of English - both NS and NNS- that exist today. The similar term *World Englishes*

(WE)¹¹ is an 'umbrella term' (Bolton, 2004) that often has the same meaning, but can also refer to a) 'new' English varieties that are also known as *indigenized, nativized* or *localized* Englishes, i.e. from Asia, the Caribbean or Africa (Jenkins, 2015) or b) the pluricentric *approach* to global English research that is most associated with Kachru (Kachru, 1985, 1992a, 1992b) and which will be examined in Chapter 2.2b. In opposition is *World Standard (Spoken) English* (WS(S)E), which refers to a hypothetical singular and codified form of English that could potentially develop either out of a native speaker variety (Crystal, 2012) or of its own accord (Görlach, 1988; T. McArthur, 1998). Jenkins (2006) rejects W(S)SE as a platform for global language user or learners; the majority of WE scholars depart from the idea of a unified monolithic English in favour of a model that embraces variation¹².

The paradigm that is perhaps receiving the most attention today is that of *English as a lingua franca*, which in the same vein as WE recognizes the validity of variation across both users and uses of English. ELF arguably goes a step further than WE; ELF theories may attempt to find pragmatic *solutions* to problems that originate from the dynamic push and pull between necessary uniformity and unavoidable diversity within global English as a whole. ELF is the paradigm that Jenkins (2006) feels is most suited to responding to the state of English around the globe today, and she rejects criticisms of ELF being another disguised attempt to unify English in a constraining way. The deceptively similar term *English as an international language* (EIL), however, is rejected as too monolithic in the way it proposes a singular form of English.

Although traditionally ELF is defined as a contact language used exclusively between speakers that do not have English as a first language (House, 1999; Seidlhofer, 2004) it is now widely accepted that ELF interactions may include one NS and one NNS of English (Jenkins, 2006). Interactions between speakers are considered ELF interactions when the speakers rely on English to communicate across linguistic or cultural boundaries in nearly every realm: business or trade, travelling, academics and/or entertainment.

¹¹ For more in depth discussions about World Englishes, see T. McArthur (2001) and Melchers and Shaw (2013).

¹² Among many others, Jenkins (2015), Seidlhofer (2005), Kirkpatrick (2007), and Widdowson (1994) are all committed to pluricentric platforms or models of global English, both in theory and, ideally, in practice.

2.2b Pluricentric vs. purist: the 'English Today' debate

Opposing positions regarding the validity of non-native forms of English came to a head in what Jenkins calls "the *English Today* debate" (2015). Specifically, Jenkins is referring to articles by Quirk (1990) and Kachru (1991)¹³, whose contrasting opinions grafted a divide between language *purists* such as Quirk and *pluralists* such as Kachru. On the one hand, purists consider any deviation from standard, native speaker norms as examples of a failed attempt to acquire 'correct' native English; they adhere to the belief that native, standardized forms of English are necessary ideals for language learners. Quirk (1990) claimed that non-native teachers needed to stay in constant contact with native English, and argued that successful acquisition of nativized forms would increase the freedom and career prospects of L2 users. The emphasis on 'pure' NS forms is questionable on the very fundamental level of overlooking the fact that *all* languages are hybrid and constantly evolving as they are in contact with new foreign languages and cultures¹⁴. Quirk's position seems to stem from a purely monolingual perspective (Jenkins, 2015) and his commitment to NS English seems out of synch with today's hybridized, globalized world, especially when confronted with Kachru's (1992) description of the actual diversity of English users and uses.

Today English is no longer restricted to communication with native speakers, a fact to which all of Kachru's "six fallacies of the users and uses of English" attest (Kachru, 1992a). The six fallacies aimed to take NS English off the pedestal by pointing out that English is not learnt by NNS for the exclusive purpose of interacting with NS, nor is it only a vehicle that conveys the cultures of Anglophone countries. It can, additionally, be used as a tool to impart local traditions and cultural values. In opposition to Quirk, Kachru (1992b) dismisses concepts of fossilized language¹⁵ and recognizes that global varieties are no less valid than native forms:

¹³ The articles "*Language varieties and standard language*" (Quirk, 1990) and "*Liberation linguistics and the Quirk concern*" (Kachru, 1991) were both printed in the journal *English Today* and vocalized the divide between pluricentricism and purism.

¹⁴ English, like all languages, is in a constant state of change. English has evolved greatly overtime and is filled with loan words from interactions with other languages; in particular it is closely related to other Germanic languages (Strang, 2015).

¹⁵ *Fossilized language* refers to L2 language acquisition that has become 'stuck' at certain proficiency level before achieving native-like speech; *inter-language* is a similar term that refers to the influence of an L1 grammar or phonological system on L2 language use, suggesting that the language acquisition process is not 'finished'. See Selinker and Lakshmanan (1992).

[It is a false assumption] that the international non-native varieties of English are essentially "interlanguages" striving to achieve "native-like" character... in reality, the situation is... that such institutionalized varieties are varieties of English in their own right rather than stages on the way to a more native-like English.

(Kachru, 1992b)

While many researchers are in accord with Kachru, it is nevertheless worth pointing out that Quirk *does* give voice to very real challenges in global English theory. Quirk's idealization of the native speaker is unrealistic and constraining to the majority of language learners, yet his fear of standard English disintegrating into mutually unintelligible variations, and the lack of a benchmark that can act as a pedagogical model, are sentiments echoed by some language teachers. For instance, the German English teachers polled by Decke-Cornill (2003) felt they would have to 'make up the language they were going to teach' if they could not rely on NS models. The balance between variation and unity is a problem that global English language teachers must tackle if theory is going to become practice.

2.2c Descriptive models of Global English

Several models have been put forth in an effort to concretely describe global English, although arguably none of them succeed in capturing the phenomenon from every angle. Görlach (1988) and A. McArthur (1987) and both built circular, descriptive models that attempt to trace the diasporas of English and capture the birth of a universal lingua franca. Both models are problematic, however, as the standardized forms of English they centre around (*International English* in Görlach's (1988) model or *World Standard English* in McArthur's (1988) model) are unrealistic and do not exist in an identifiable form at present, and may in fact never do so (Jenkins, 2015). The most widely cited model is likely Kachru's (1985), who divides the users of English into three concentric circles, concentrating on historical and geographic factors.

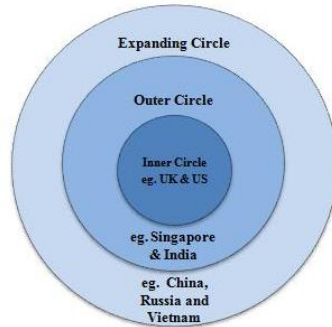


Figure 1: Kachru's (1992) Concentric Circles of English. Kachru's Concentric Circles, as represented by Crystal (2004), group countries into 3 separate circles according to the history and use of English in each country.

The model sorts countries into the Inner, Outer and Expanding Circles in accordance with the use, status and history of the English variety in each country. Additionally, the model lends itself to scrutinizing the way different countries may have norm-providing, norm-developing or norm-dependent relationships with English. Kachru (1992a) posits that Inner Circle native speakers have greater influence in terms of providing global English norms whilst the other two circles are respectively 'developing' or 'dependent on' Inner Circle norms. Following the model, one can expect that evolutions of standard grammar or pronunciation in the Outer or Expanding Circles are not likely to be globally considered acceptable unless they first become normalized within the Inner Circle.

The Concentric Circles model further has much in common with the tripartite distinction of ENL-ESL-EFL (Jenkins, 2015; Kachru, 1992a):

ENL (English native language): *Inner Circle*. Belongs to 'native speakers' and has traditionally provided the cultural and linguistic bases of English (Kachru, 1985). Referred to as 'norm-providing'.

ESL (English as a second language): *Outer Circle*. Refers to Englishes that retain an official status in a country as a result of colonization. ESL speakers have other first or additional languages. Some feel that the distinction between 'NS and NNS' is problematic as it means Outer Circle speakers are refused any right to claim NS status, though they may use English for native-like purposes in conjunction with another L1 (Mesthrie, 2008).

EFL (English as a Foreign language): *Expanding Circle*. English is acquired for a variety of reasons in these countries; it is considered a foreign language and has no special status or history, although it may receive elevated status now in light of ELF. These varieties are 'performance varieties' (Kachru, 1985). The use and presence of English may vary greatly from country to country.

The Concentric Circles are at once both helpful and limiting. The model is helpful in the way that it distinguishes between postcolonial Englishes of the Outer Circle and foreign Englishes of the Expanding Circle, as it opens a discussion about the way different histories may contribute to different *attitudes*. Naturally, different historical backgrounds lead to the development of different interpretations of standards; particularly as it is possible that in some cases postcolonial countries may aspire to 'develop' NS norms rather than accept them in order to distance themselves from the colonial power and strengthen hybrid identities. Acquiring English in the Outer Circle may lead to greater opportunities socially or academically, yet speakers may wish to resist the language of the colonial power and feel "torn between Western values and their indigenous cultures...while English has become deeply rooted in their soil and their consciousness" (Canagarajah, 1999). Crystal (2012) points to the way the language of the colonial power may be perceived with mixed emotions:

The language of the colonial power introduces a new, unifying medium of communication within a colony, but at the same time it reflects the bonds between that colony and the home country.

(Crystal, 2012)

Countries from the Expanding Circle, on the contrary, have never needed to refashion English into a vehicle that does not threaten their culture or language, and thus may be more likely to retain a feeling that English 'belongs' exclusively to the Inner Circle. Consequently Expanding Circle speakers are likely to be more dependent on the norms created by native speakers, and perhaps less likely to accept their own localized English varieties as legitimate. Naturally these situations do not describe the relationship between all Expanding, Outer and Inner circle countries. Attitudes toward language are complex and different countries will of course have unique histories and relationships with English. Nevertheless it is worth exploring large scale trends with a critical eye in order to try to understand the development of attitudes toward English on a global scale.

Whilst the discussion about postcolonial and never-colonized Englishes is enlightening, Kachru's (1992) model is in other ways very limited. The model fails both to represent the diversity and variation that exists within each Circle, or the ways in which different NS dialects are socially evaluated (Bruthiaux, 2003). Further, distinctions between ESL and EFL may be "breaking down" due to the global reach of English (Modiano, 1999a). The nature, abundance and proficiency of *intra-national* English use in some countries such as Norway demands a re-evaluation of the ENL-ESL-EFL model:

The distinction between 'second language' (L2) and 'foreign language' use has less contemporary relevance now than it formerly had. There is much more use of English nowadays in some foreign countries of the expanding circle, where it is 'only' a foreign language (as in Scandinavia and The Netherlands), than in some of the outer circle where it has traditionally held a special place.

(Crystal, 2012)

Further, in Kachru's model, proficiency is not represented whatsoever; realistically, some Expanding Circle speakers may be more proficient than Outer Circle speakers. 'Proficiency' is hard to quantify; while some native speakers may be ineloquent language users, simply having acquired the grammatical and phonetic systems of their language from birth gives native speakers a certain innate familiarity with the L1 that even the most eloquent L2 likely cannot attain¹⁶. However, a description of the ease, fluency and comfort of language use should be incorporated into models of global English, as these factors are connected to L2 English use.

Models by Modiano (1999a, 1999b), Graddol (2006) and Yano (2009) acknowledge that proficiency should be a criterion in terms of evaluating the use or status of English, as opposed to merely the historical origins of English within a country. However all three models are again problematic due to the lack of a codified definition of 'proficiency' in light of global English variation (Jenkins, 2015). The issue will not be resolved until a thorough description of global English or ELF is set in stone; Jenkins (2002) and Seidlhofer (2004), among others, have made attempts to solve the problem through the creation of a pronunciation syllabus or lexicon of 'core

¹⁶ Refer to chapter 2.3b for details about the critical period and language acquisition. Highly proficient L2 learners may have a bigger vocabulary or perform better on written standard English tests than some L1 users; however the constraints of the critical period make most researchers posit that language acquisition after the critical period will always differ from native language acquisition.

elements' necessary for intelligibility across the spectrum of global Englishes. Such a syllabus has been referred to as a lingua franca core (LFC) (Jenkins, 2002). However, as global English is constantly developing, models used to capture it must also develop, thus the notion of a solid 'syllabus' of ELF pronunciation seems utopian.

2.3 Attitudes

2.3a Defining attitudes

Baker (1992) refers to attitudes as hypothetical constructs used to explain the direction and persistence of human behaviour. Attitudes are hybrid in nature and may contain several different components. As such, he suggests a tripartite model that captures attitude on three different levels: *cognitive* (concerning thoughts and beliefs), *affective* (feelings toward the attitude object), and *readiness for action* (a behavioural intention or plan). Consideration of the three parts reveals the way that attitudes might be multi-dimensional. One can imagine an individual holding a *cognitive belief* about 'correct language' that differs from their *affective attitude*, as they may feel that a standard form of English is 'better' but nevertheless be fonder of a colloquial form, while their *actions* may reveal both aspects.

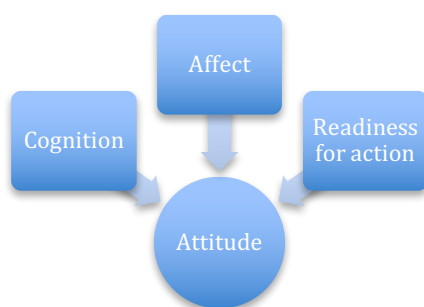


Figure 2 Azjen's (1988) tripartite attitude model. Azjen posits that 'attitudes' consist of three separate aspects, all of which contribute to the direction and persistence of human behaviour.

Within sociolinguistics, Holmes (2013) explains that attitudes towards language do not occur in a vacuum, but are specific reactions to social and political contexts. Attitudes explicitly reveal how individuals feel not about *language* in and of itself, but rather what associations they have toward the *speakers* of that variation or language (Milroy, 2001). Misconceptions about one linguistic

variety being intrinsically better than another often occur in language attitude judgements but are in fact completely invalid. Holmes reiterates that claims about 'naturally superiority' are moot:

When people listen to accents or languages they have never heard before, their assessments are totally random...there is no universal consensus about which languages sound most beautiful and which most ugly, despite people's beliefs that some languages are just inherently more beautiful than others.

(Holmes, 2013)

Attitudes have been shown to affect everything from individual intelligibility ratings (Derwing & Munro, 1997; Major, Fitzmaurice, Bunta & Balasubramanian, 2002) to perceptions of prestige (Bishop, Coupland & Garrett, 2005; Giles, 1973; Giles, Henwood, Coupland, Harriman & Coupland, 1992). Understanding attitudes towards language has great implications in the classroom, as it is possible that attitudes toward a language may affect motivation and influence success in language acquisition contexts (Gardner, 2007).

2.3b Defining accents

Though Lippi-Green (1997) points out that accent can only be a fuzzy term as far as linguists are concerned, a definition will be attempted. An *accent* is primarily components of pronunciation (phonetics, stress placement, and intonation) that link the speech of an individual to a geographic or regional origin, and may indicate social factors such as class, level of education, or belonging to a specific group (Meyerhoff, 2006). Differing grammar is not included in the notion of accent, but rather considered a component of *dialect*. While L1 accents develop from regionally different pronunciation patterns¹⁷, L2 or foreign accents are a result of the phonology or stress of the first language of a speaker influencing his or her pronunciation in the second language. Arslan and Hansen (1997) point out that degree of foreign accent may vary based on factors such as the age of acquisition, or length of residence in a country that speaks the second language. However, acquiring the phonological sounds of a second language after the critical period is challenging.

¹⁷ L1 accents are abundant in almost all languages; i.e. Boston English and Southern American will sound different despite sharing standard English lexicon and syntax (Labov, Ash, & Boberg, 2005).

Honikman (1964) clarifies that the phonetics of a first language become solidified through ‘articulatory setting’ during the critical period¹⁸. At this stage of early development, the oral posture and mechanics of speech organs are acquired, which are necessary for facilitating natural utterances in the first language (Honikman, 1964). Honikman (1964) further explains that only those with “acute linguistic and phonetic sense” are able to mimic the phonemes of a language not acquired from birth; second or foreign language learners must thus face the challenge of learning to manoeuvre speech organs in a foreign manner, after the natural speech patterns of the L1 have been set. The physical constraints of developing a secondary phonetic system after the critical period presents a challenge to the L2 user hoping to acquire 'accentless' speech or the L1 user hoping to adopt a phonetically different accent in the L1.

It is *essential* to emphasize that many researchers are in consensus that phonological systems are 'set' within the critical period for language acquisition and *cannot* be 're-set' after the critical period to acquire a native-like L2 accent (Flege, Munro & MacKay, 1995; Morley, 1996; Piske, Mackay & Flege, 2001). Despite scoring extremely high on grammatical and lexical proficiency tests many L2 users will retain traces of a 'foreign accent'; hence accent, or lack thereof, cannot be interpreted as an indication of proficiency in an L2 user. Scovel (2000) points to the proliferation of research that argues against the ability of the post-pubescent learner to attain accentless, native-like speech, though some researchers claim to have found exceptional individuals who break this norm (Bongaerts, 1999; Ioup, 1994). However, Scovel (2000) insists that a native-like accent is an unattainable goal for the majority of L2 learners. Given that it may be impossible to acquire a believable NS accent, it seems obvious that language teachers and language users ought to set more realistic goals when it comes to pronunciation. However, standard language ideologies may influence attitudes and steer the aims of language learners, teachers and users toward unattainable goals.

2.3d Standard Language Ideologies

Whilst it is difficult to define the concept of accent, some feel that it is equally difficult to decide *who* should speak with *what* accent, or whether a standard should be propagated at all. *Standard*

¹⁸ The Critical Period Hypothesis attributed to Lenneberg, Chomsky, and Marx (1967) suggests that certain elements of language acquisition necessarily must occur within an early, critical cognitive developmental period. Language acquisition will never reach native-like levels after the cognitive functions necessary for native language acquisition have fully matured, which occurs pre-puberty.

language ideologies are illusions about language propagated through media and politics that teach language users to accept one specific variety as 'correct', until it becomes intuitive to associate that variety with educated or intelligent persons. Ideologies about English originate specifically in Anglophone countries (Jenkins, 2015), and are propagated through both media and institutions such as schools. Furthermore, an on-going and widely believed myth exists that only those whose speech differs from these *standard forms* have an accent, whilst those who use a standardized variety of pronunciation are 'accentless'. Lippi-Green (1997) calls this tautology "the myth of the non-accent". The belief is of course built on fallacy. It is an indubitable fact that everyone has an accent, as the speech of every individual is marked by phonological features, whether 'standard' or not.

Holmes (2013) illustrates the way standard varieties are but a construct birthed out of unequal power relations, pointing out the history of such varieties of English as prestigious dialects that originated in the elite courts of Britain. Codification and stabilization over time propagated the ideology of 'correct', 'one-size-fits-all' English to such an extent that NSs in England or USA today continuously accept the superiority of these forms, though neither those accents, nor any other accents, have particular linguistic merits that should give them this status. Dictionary definitions call *Standard English* the language of "the educated"; some expand the definition to include "the English taught in schools" or "heard on broadcast channels" (Lippi-Green, 1997). The concept of standard English can be inverted and viewed as a benchmark against which all other forms of English are often measured.

Most accents can be classified by the degree to which they are classified standard or non-standard within a particular community. A standard variety is one that is most often associated with status, the media, and power, whereas a "non-standard" variety is one that is often associated with a lower level of socioeconomic success.

(Cargile & Giles 1998)

The nature of the norm-developing/norm-dependent relationship between the Outer/Expanding Circles and the Inner Circle means that ideologies that are consumed and internalized in the Inner Circle will likely filter down into the Outer and Expanding circles. Hence, glorified accents in Anglophone cultures may continue to be perceived as having a high status in both the Outer and Expanding circle. Lippi-Green's (1997) exasperation that

Anglophone countries continue to believe that a homogenous, standardized, one-size-fits-all language is possible and desirable (1997) is arguably even more relevant when considering World Englishes from a pluricentric perspective. Not only is the superiority of these accents based exclusively on historically unequal power relations. They may also be unattainable for those not born into language communities that speak these varieties. Though foreign-accented speech may require more effort for L1 English interlocutors to understand, comprehensibility is often linked more to attitudes than phonetics and intelligibility. Listeners may discriminate based on their adherence to standard language ideologies and believe they are unable to comprehend foreign-accented speech, when really they could understand if they were open to understanding (Munro, 2003).

2.3e Previous language attitude research

Many studies have explored attitudes toward foreign-accented speech, including both quantitative evaluations of attitudes toward different foreign accents in English (Brennan & Brennan, 1981; Cargile & Giles, 1998; Nesdale & Rooney, 1996) and qualitative based explorations of standard language ideologies, language and attitudes (Kalin & Rayko, 1978; Lippi-Green, 1994, 1997; Munro, 2003). The overarching conclusion is that a general bias against non-standard language accents exists, and the consensus seems to be that non-standard accents are generally dispreferred (Pütz, Robinson & Reif, 2014). Interestingly, these attitudes may be slowly shifting toward greater acceptance of non-standardized varieties in light of the growth of English globally and the variation that has accompanied its spread. Some studies suggest a growing minority may be positive towards ‘neutral accents’, or accents that are not easy to trace back to a specific geographic or cultural origin.

Particularly enlightening are studies that have measured attitudes towards the English accent of a particular L2 community in comparison with standard English accents. Dalton-Puffer, Kaltenböck, and Smit (1997) used a modified verbal-guise technique to investigate the attitudes of Austrian university students toward Austrian accented English, Standard American and RP; their results revealed that Austrian students were negative toward Austrian accented English and most favourable to the standard English accents that they were *most familiar* with. In addition, they noticed a correlation between students who had spent time abroad in an English speaking

country and more relaxed attitudes; those who had exclusively used English in an EFL setting in the classroom tended to have a more preoccupied with native speaker models. Dalton-Puffer's et al. (1997) conclusions emphasized that familiarity plays an important part in determining attitudes.

In Norway, Rindal (2010) explored whether adolescent language learners made social evaluations of English. She found, in keeping with previous studies (Coupland, 2007; Ladegaard & Sachdev, 2006), that the test subjects considered British English more prestigious and associated American English with informality. Further, the study considered how accents motivate language acquisition by exploring whether the self-expressed aims of Norwegian adolescent learners corresponded with the English they actually used. The results indicated that the attitudes of learners did in fact affect both their motivation and their success with achieving certain pronunciation forms. In a secondary study, Rindal and Piercy (2013) dug deeper into how self-expressed accent aims aligned with adolescent Norwegians' actual pronunciation in English. Their work revealed an interesting trend that challenges the traditional pattern of a preference for standardized NS forms. Though respondents continued to prefer the standard varieties, the study revealed that a large minority wished to avoid NS accents and opted instead toward a 'neutral' pronunciation, which neither revealed that they were Norwegian nor linked them to an Anglophone country or culture. Rindal's mixed findings allude to the interesting position of English in Norwegian society and its inability to fit neatly into Kachru's Concentric Circles, as has been briefly alluded to in chapter 2.2c and will be mentioned again in chapter 2.4a.

A few recent Masters studies in Norway have also addressed similar questions. Risan (2014) explored the attitudes of Norwegian pre-service English teachers towards varieties of English through surveys and in-depth interviews; her results reflected Rindal's (2010; 2013) findings by indicating both an overall belief in the superiority of NS norms and yet a growing acceptance toward 'neutral' English forms. Similarly, Hordnes (2013) received responses from 35 English respondents to an online attitude-survey featuring a series of matched-guise and verbal guise audio clips of 'Heavy Norwegian' and 'RP-Norwegian' accented English. His results indicated higher prestige ratings for Norwegian English accents that were phonetically closer to RP on all levels (education, job skills, ambition). Ratings regarding sociability were unclear, however.

Given the high number of immigrants in Canada¹⁹, many language attitude studies in Canada have focused on discriminatory hiring practices based on foreign accents. Despite the abundance of L2 English speech in Canada and the relatively high profile of immigrants in Canadian society (Munro, 2003), Kalin and Rayko (1978) found that speakers with a Standard Canadian accent were assumed to be better candidates for high-status jobs than those with foreign-accented English. Munro (2003) admits that no one has data on to what extent language discrimination occurs in Canada, yet he outlines several cases of discriminatory linguistic stereotyping in the country and concludes by demanding a need for preventative action from language teachers, who he feels are able to influence public attitudes toward foreign-accented English in Canada. Similarly, Amin (1997) scrutinized attitudes towards foreign ESL teachers in Canada. While her work was more occupied with racial discrimination, she also found that linguistic stereotyping and accent discrimination are real challenges for immigrant or accented Canadian ESL teachers in Toronto. Ultimately, despite a lack of conclusive data on the country as a whole, past research concludes that standard language ideologies, and consequently accent discrimination in favour of standardized varieties, is part of the linguistic environment in Canada.

2.4 Pedagogy in light of global English

2.4a Exonormative and endonormative teaching models

Kirkpatrick (2007) claims that in light of the global prominence of English, Outer and Expanding Circle countries must choose between an *exonormative* or *endonormative*²⁰ teaching model. Exonormative teaching models have rather obvious positive implications. Teachers have plenty of resources to rely on due to the massive English teaching industry that exists in the US and Britain. Learners have clear role models to copy or follow, and grading is far easier for teachers with a native-speaker benchmark. Yet Kirkpatrick (2007) questions the seemingly obvious benefits of an exonormative teaching model; in light of the theories and factors discussed throughout chapter 2, it appears that his reservations are well founded.

¹⁹ Refer to chapter 2.4b.

²⁰ Exonormative models are based on norms from outside the country (likely Inner Circle norms); endonormative models depend on localized norms (Kirkpatrick, 2007).

Chapter 2.3b mentioned that there may be physical challenges in acquiring or changing accents after the critical period, which leads to the conclusion that teaching models that rely on NS pronunciation are flawed. Additionally, favouritism towards NS English teachers tends to occur when exonormative models are followed. Brown (2013) considers that linguistic identity is an important factor for language teachers, in light of the way educators are susceptible to discrimination in a linguistic marketplace that favours standard NS varieties (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991). Institutions may hire teachers due only to their being a NS, rather than considering their particular merits. Discriminatory hiring practices overlook the fact that NNS teachers may be less intimidating to students or more adept at teaching, having themselves 'learned' the language. English teachers are often considered the 'experts' on good language (Lippi-Green, 1997), and thus may be even more prone to accent discrimination, if their accent is a non-standard accent. Discriminatory hiring practices may result, and students may miss out on great language teachers.

Exonormative teaching models are thus problematic. However, endonormative models may be problematic in Norway for other reasons. Kirkpatrick (2007) suggests that countries that are likely to choose endonormative teaching models are Outer or Expanding Circle countries in which *the local variety of English has become socially acceptable*. A closer look at Norwegian evaluations of Norwegian accented English (NE) in chapter 2.4a reveals that Norwegians tend to ridicule NE accents, hence its purposeful development into a language of instruction in Norwegian schools seems unlikely. A true shift away from NS models in Norwegian classrooms would depend on discontinuing the use of exclusively native-speaker cultural and linguistic teaching resources. Bringing a range of Englishes and multilingual, comparative approaches into the language classroom may help initiate a shift in teacher and learner attitudes (Seidlhofer 2004). Increased focus on global Englishes during teacher training programs would also help initiate a change, although as previously mentioned, the consensus seems to be that attitudes towards strands of English in Norway are primarily dictated by consumption of Anglophone media.

2.4 The sociolinguistic context of the target countries

2.4a English in Norway: challenging the Expanding Circle definition

Norway falls into the Expanding Circle; however, the prevalence of English in most aspects of daily Norwegian culture and the high proficiency level in the country mean that Kachru's (1992) model does not work well to explain the status of English in Norway. One could argue that the country is transitioning into the Outer Circle (despite not sharing the historical background with Outer Circle countries) or that the reasons for learning English in Norway moves it from an 'EFL' country to a fourth distinction as an 'ELF' country (Jenkins, 2015). Norway has never been colonized by an English speaking country and English is not institutionalized in Norway (Crystal, 2012), meaning that despite high proficiency²¹ Norway is likely still subject to the norm-developing/norm-dependent relationship with Inner Circle Englishes. The high levels of English use by Norwegians in Norway means not all English use can be considered ELF interactions; the language is also used for internal purposes such as code-switching into English to express identification with popular culture (Blom & Gumperz, 2000).

In terms of schooling, English is considered a foreign language in Norway but receives a special status as being the "first of foreign languages". The Ministry of Education in Norway (UDIR) categorizes and emphasizes English in a different way than other foreign language subjects, and recognizes in the "Purpose" section of their website that English is a "global language" which Norwegians must necessarily learn in order to become international communicators²². Norwegian students begin studying English at a young age and the subject is compulsory. The curriculum itself does not specify pronunciation, but teachers are likely to use a standard British variety as the majority of teacher resources use this variety (Rindal, 2010), although previous studies seem to indicate that the majority of students aspire toward American English accents. As Norwegians pass through the school system they will likely become very

²¹ The EF English Proficiency Index ranks 70 countries based on voluntary online tests responses. Arguably, this data could be misleading for a number of reasons; nevertheless the sheer volume of responses (91,000 respondents in 2014) make the data worth looking at; in 2014 Norway placed 4th in English proficiency, topped only by Sweden (1st), Netherlands (2nd) and Denmark (3rd). Visit ef.no for more information.

²² Information regarding English in the Norwegian curriculum was found on government website for Norwegian public school curriculum, www.udir.no (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2014). Translations are the author's own.

proficient English users; institutions such as Universities are using more and more English as the language of instruction.

Drew (2011) discusses the history of the English language curriculum in Norway and points to a huge shift in teaching style from the *M 74* curriculum of the 1970's, which was based on the grammar-translation method, to the *L 97* curriculum of the 1990's that emphasized varied language input and increased focus on oral language skills. The aim was to reflect the diversity of language in the real world. Drew (2011) also outlines challenges specific to Norwegian students of English, and dedicates a chapter to pronunciation. He emphasizes that 'good pronunciation' will be best achieved with a high amount of 'authentic language' input, and that a focus on pronunciation will improve oral proficiency for L2 English speakers. Further, Drew (2011) warns that 'native speakers react intuitively if L2 speakers use the wrong intonation and/or pronunciation', claiming it is therefore important to maintain a high amount of exposure to native English in the classroom. Drew (2011) mentions that 'good pronunciation' and 'good intonation' are important key criteria in evaluating spoken English, and goes on to list specific pronunciation problems that will need to be corrected in order for Norwegian English speakers to develop a 'good English pronunciation'.

When it comes to English input that is influential in Europe, including Norway, Dollerup (1996) argues that media is more influential than any other factor. The hegemony of Anglophone media means that 80 per cent of the films in Western Europe are imported from either Britain or USA (Kirkpatrick, 2007). Adding to that sum the high amount of English music and television shows, it can be concluded that Norwegians consume a substantial amount of Anglophone media. Rindal (2010) points out that Norway does not dub English-language programs or films, and that American English is likely to be the most frequently heard variety through the media. Risan (2014) found that Norwegian teacher-training students felt that 'media' had by far the greatest impact on the way they used or spoke English²³; exposure to English media means that Norwegians are familiar with Inner Circle varieties of English in addition to other varieties that are stereotyped in the media. This intimacy with English causes Norwegians to make social evaluations about strands of English with which they are familiar (Dalton-Puffer, Kaltenböck, & Smit, 1997; Rindal, 2010; Rindal & Piercy, 2013).

²³ 70 % claimed media influenced their English, 50 % travel, 40 % former English teachers and 30 % family or friends; see Risan (2014).

Norwegians tend to have positive attitudes towards variation within oral Norwegian, as there is a huge amount of linguistic diversity within the country and a relatively flat social structure; Norwegians are proud of their dialects. Rindal (2013) states that in Norway there is no tradition to target a certain spoken variety of Norwegian in the public school system, and dialect variation is encouraged, making it appear that Norwegian culture is tolerant of linguistic variation. Nevertheless, Norwegians seem to make severe social evaluations of Norwegian accented English. Risan (2014) mentions the harsh criticism that reoccurs in the media whenever an influential Norwegian figure speaks English with traces of Norwegian intonation²⁴, and work by Rindal (2010) and Rindal and Piercy (2013), as discussed in chapter 2.3c, give evidence that the majority of Norwegians wish to rid themselves of NE accents when speaking English.

2.4b English in Canada: one of many home languages

English use in Canada does not really fit the definition of ELF, although some Canadians in Canada will use ELF when interacting with NNS either abroad or within the country. The process of SLA for new immigrants in Canada, however, has a very different function than ELF acquisition in Outer or Expanding Circles, as ESL learners in Canada are acquiring English to become functioning and autonomous members of English speaking Canadian society. An ESL teaching model focused on international ELF communication is hence perhaps not the best choice, as Foote (2012) notes:

Using an ELF approach to pronunciation instruction may not be the most appropriate choice for many Canadian ESL classrooms, where most learners will speak regularly with native speakers and would probably benefit from a heavier focus on suprasegmental instruction.

(Foote, 2012)

The motivations of most ESL learners in English Canada are ultimately to integrate and speak to native English speakers, thus to some extent NS pronunciation ideals have a more valid place in Canadian language classrooms. However, the constraints of adult SLA on achieving native-like pronunciation²⁵ are real here as well. Despite having different motivations than ELF users in

²⁴ See chapter 1.0 or Risan (2014) for examples of NE targeted on social media or discussed in Norwegian media.

²⁵ Refer to chapter 2.3b for more details about the limits of SLA after the critical period.

Norway, native speaker role models will still be as constraining, utopian and unrealistic (Alptekin, 2002) in Canadian ESL classrooms as they are in EFL/ELF classrooms in Norway. Arguably, native speaker pronunciation ideals may be even more constraining for speakers who have recently acquired Canadian nationality, as by assuming Canadian cultural identity, new immigrants may feel that they are expected to sound Canadian and express a new socio-cultural identity through their language (Dönyei & Ushioda, 2009).

Derwing (2003) found that 95 % of Canadian immigrants wished to sound like NSs if they could; a mismatch between desires and results may thus lead to discouraged students. A solution is to find an ESL curriculum that accommodates the aims of new Canadian ESL students while providing them with realistic targets. Foote, Holtby, and Derwing (2011) have made an effort to analyze the ESL situation in Canada from the perspective of both teachers and learners. They found that ESL students in Canada often cite pronunciation as an area of frustration, and ESL teachers in Canada express a desire to increase their knowledge of how pronunciation should be taught in immigrant based ESL classrooms.

In the 2011 census, 58 % of Canadians reported speaking English only at home, alongside 18.2 % of Canadians who spoke only French. Canada is also multilingual, as one-fifth of Canada's population²⁶ most often spoke a language other than English or French at home in 2011, sometimes in conjunction with French or English (Statistics Canada, 2011). Immigrants have a relatively high status in Canada as the country prides itself on being tolerant and multi-cultural (Munro, 2003), and in 2006 fully 20 % percent of the population were considered immigrants²⁷. Nevertheless, despite the high rate of linguistic and cultural diversity, language discrimination based on foreign accent is also a reality in Canada²⁸.

Peirce (1995) considers social identity and sense of self as key factors affecting the *motivation* and *investment* of adult English learners in Canada, suggesting that English second language acquisition in Inner Circle contexts has more to do with *locality*, *identity* and *connecting the individual to the society*. Peirce (1995) feels English language acquisition in Canada is a struggle for the power to have one's discourse considered legitimate (despite perhaps

²⁶ Canada has a population of 35, 344, 962 (Statistics Canada, 2011)

²⁷ Information regarding populations and languages in Canada were found on the public government of Canada website "Statistics Canada", www.statcan.gc.ca. Not all information is up to date as the most recent census information was unavailable.

²⁸ Refer to chapter 2.3c for details of foreign accent discrimination in Canada.

retaining a 'non-legitimate', or non-standard, accent; see chapter 2.3b) within a native speaking community. Jenkins (2006b) argues that Peirce's findings can also be applied to ELF contexts:

Peirce re-conceptualize[s] motivation as investment, links it with issues of power and identity, and demonstrates how learning outcomes are contingent on the way these issues are resolved. ELF, of course, is rather different from the Canadian [...] ESL situations studied by [...] Peirce. The approach to the roles of power and identity in SLA nevertheless has much that can inform ELF research.

(Jenkins, 2006)

Ultimately, the specific use of Canadians in this study is intended both to explore how Norwegian accented English is interpreted from the perspective of Inner Circle English speakers, and whether Canadian English teachers are aware of, or subscribe to, recent developments in pedagogy due to the growth of ELF. Although in ELF contexts English is no longer owned by the native speaker (Widdowson, 1994), Canadian English is, in all its hybrid varieties and uses, of course entirely 'owned' by Canadians as an expression of Canadian cultural and linguistic identity when used by native speakers in Canadian cultural contexts. Nevertheless, Canadians also need to be aware of the status of English as a lingua franca in order to avoid monolingual English speaker ignorance during ELF interactions, and be committed to understanding foreign accented speech by being open and engaged interlocutors. Ultimately, developments in the study of ELF pedagogy may be extremely relevant to ESL theory and teaching in Canadian contexts.

2.4c Defining Standard Canadian and Norwegian English accents

Standard Canadian English

Standard Canadian English is closely related to the variety widely recognized around the world as 'General American' (Boberg, 2008). Many international English users will be familiar with SC accents although many will likely mistake them as American, due to the abundance of American culture globally and because the two accents are quite similar. There are, however, several defining phonological features that distinguish American and Canadian English; Labov et al. (2005) outlines certain phonological components as noteworthy elements of Standard Canadian

accents, such as the Canadian Shift (a lowering and retraction of the short front vowels, noticeable in words such as *bid*, *bed* or *bad*) or Canadian Raising (the pronunciation of the diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ such as in *house* and *tight*). Long vowels in words such as *out*, *day*, *go* or *cow* are also articulated longer than in the US (Labov et al., 2005).

Daily life for the majority of Canadians is monolingual (Boberg, 2008). Many observers have pointed out that Canadian English is fairly homogenous in southern Canada from Ontario to British Columbia, although some pockets retain marked pronunciation influenced by heavy Scottish, Irish or German immigration; other areas such as Northern Canada or Newfoundland historically had less contact with mainstream Canadian English and therefore have retained more distinctive features. It is often socio-economic factors rather than regional factors that lead to varieties that are markedly different (Boberg, 2008). Boberg refers to a study that asked undergraduate Canadian students where 'the best' Canadian English was spoken; the largest group identified a variety spoken in Ontario (Boberg, 2008). This is essentially the variety that is referred to as Standard Canadian throughout the course of this thesis, and the variety that was used to exemplify Standard Canadian in the attitude survey.

Norwegian Accented English

In Norwegian, speakers use prosodic patterns or melodies while speaking; specific melodic patterns vary from dialect to dialect in Norway. In polysyllabic words, speakers stress different syllables in order to communicate a different meaning or because words are pronounced differently in different parts of the country (Lunden, 2006). Norwegian accented English refers to the obvious transfer of Norwegian prosodic patterns to spoken English; the degree of Norwegian intonation will of course vary among speakers, and arguably the L1 Norwegian dialect will affect the NE accent variation.

In terms of phonetics, Drew (2011) discusses in detail English sounds that are difficult for Norwegians to pronounce. These include the consonants /θ/ versus /t/ as in **thorn-torn**, /v/ versus /w/ as in **vent-went**, or /ð/ versus /d/ as in **there-dare**, among others. English vowel sounds that may be difficult for Norwegian L1 speakers include, but are not limited to, /ʌ/ as in **cut, ugly or brother**, /u:/ as in **school, true or music**, or /ɜ:/ as in **early, word or work**. Drew (2011) also suggests that diphthongs in English have a longer glide than diphthongs in Norwegian and

consequently may be difficult for Norwegian speakers to pronounce, such as the differentiation between the words **load-loud**, **phoned-found**, **fear-fair**, or **here-hare**. In order to lose traces of a Norwegian L1 while speaking English, Drew (2011) suggests listening to native speakers on a CD, and imitating them.

2.5 Where the thesis fits in to the literature

Recently, many researchers have made an effort to understand the implications of global English, and to create models and theories to demonstrate the spread of English and the diversity of its functions. On a smaller scale, in the target countries, some researchers have explored questions related to global English. In Norway, Rindal (2010, 2013) explored how accent aims aligned with language acquisition in Norwegian schools, and what attitudes Norwegian students have toward varieties of English. In Canada, Munro (2003) revealed that discrimination against foreign-accented individuals does occur. Further, Amin (1997) found that linguistic stereotyping is a real challenge for immigrant or accented Canadian ESL teachers. This thesis hopes to fill a gap in the literature by exploring how English speakers that belong to Kachru's (1992) Inner Circle, and non-native speakers from Kachru's Expanding Circle, evaluate Norwegian English and Standard Canadian accents. Simultaneously, the research will add more depth to the work done by Risan (2014) by exploring whether the wish for 'neutral accents' that Rindal (2013) found is growing in Norway. Lastly, the thesis hopes to shed some light onto whether familiarity with an L1 may affect linguistic attitude judgements.

3.0 Methodology

3.1 Choosing methods

The research questions target attitudes towards SC and NE accents in the classroom. Given the multi-layered nature of attitudes as discussed in chapter 2.3a, a mixed methods approach combining quantitative and qualitative research methods was thought to be the surest route to both measuring and understanding attitudes. Therefore the study included an online attitude survey with Likert-scale type closed-questions that evaluated 3 audio clips, as well as in-depth interviews. The 3 audio clips included one Standard Canadian accent and, to additionally test whether *degree* of Norwegian accent affected attitudes, two Norwegian English accents, one ‘light’ and one ‘heavy’.

Quantitative attitude surveys reveal the existence and degree of attitudes within a group, but researchers can make more informed interpretations of survey results if they understand how respondents' interpretations of the survey items (or their beliefs about a particular topic) influenced the ways in which they responded (Barton, 2006). To provide this deeper insight into survey responses, semi-structured interviews were considered an important component in the data collection process. In regards to the attitude surveys, the aim was to explore only attitudes toward the target accents themselves, thus other factors that could influence attitude ratings such as voice, appearance or speech content, needed to be controlled for. Audio clips were deemed to be the best choice, so that respondents would evaluate only audio cues, and not visual cues.

3.2 Quantitative research methods

3.2a *The audio clips*

To control for variation in voice, the Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum (1960) matched-guise technique²⁹ was adopted. The matched-guise technique functions by one single speaker adopting different guises or accents in a series of audio clips, thereby eliminating the possibility of respondents forming attitudes due to voice quality or pitch in addition to accent. In this study, the speaker was a university educated Norwegian woman in her late twenties, who had

²⁹ The matched-guise technique has been used with success in similar attitude studies; see Cargile and Giles (1998), Ryan, Giles, and Hewstone (1988) or Teufel (1995) for examples.

studied sociolinguistics and was familiar with the matched-guise technique. Having lived abroad for a period of time near the city of Toronto, Canada, she was judged by the researcher³⁰ to have a convincing SC accent. However, the voice actor admitted that it was challenging to speak with both the "light" and the "heavy" NE accents³¹ as she naturally used SC when she spoke English. It was predicted that Norwegians would recognize both NE accents, but it was considered unlikely that Canadians would be able to assess their provenance.

The specific aim of the research was to ascertain the attitudes to specifically the accents respondents heard in the audio clips. It would not be revealed to the respondents whether the accents they were hearing were NS or NNS accents, as research suggests that a belief that an accent is NS or NNS may greatly influence attitudes (Pütz et al., 2014). After listening to each audio clip, an open-ended question asked survey respondents where they believed the speaker of each accent came from; therefore, the results would indicate both how the respondents interpreted the provenance of the accents, and the attitudes they had toward each accent. This enabled the researcher to consider whether there was a correlation between how respondents interpreted the accents as examples of NSs or NNSs, and whether positive or negative attitudes may have been influenced by the interpretation of the provenance of the accents.

Although part of the research involved revealing how both groups interpreted the provenance of the accents, prior to conducting the research it was necessary to ensure that both Canadians and Norwegians accepted the SC accent as an example of NS English. The research aimed to reveal how NE accents are interpreted and evaluated by Norwegians against the benchmark of SC/NS accents, and how Canadians interpreted and evaluated NE accents, without being familiar with these accents. Despite the expectation that Canadians would not be familiar with the Norwegian English accents, the accents still needed to be realistic, as non-credible accents are a serious threat to the validity of matched-guise tests (Cargile & Giles, 1998). A vital component in preparing the attitude survey was thus testing whether Norwegians and Canadians accepted the SC accent as an example of a native speaker of English, and checking to what extent Norwegians recognized the NE accents. It was not a pre-requisite that Canadians recognized the NE accents. A pilot study measuring reactions to the audio clips was undertaken before creating

³⁰ The researcher grew up near Toronto, Canada

³¹ Definitions of SC and NE accents are included in chapter 2.3c

the final attitude survey, and ensured that all parties generally accepted the SC accent as a native speaker of English.

The audio clips were recorded on a laptop. Limited equipment meant that the audio clips were not of outstanding quality; however, they were clear and each clip was approximately the same length, 23 seconds. The survey was designed to ascertain attitudes, but attitudes do not occur in a situational vacuum³², thus it was necessary to "set the scene". Adding a situational context both makes the accent evaluations more natural and gives an element of control to the researcher (Dalton-Puffer et al., 1997). In this case, the audio clips were introduced as examples of a teacher reading aloud to her class, so that respondents would react specifically to the accents in a pedagogical situation. The clip that was read was a short excerpt from a popular childrens book³³.

Three audio clips were recorded for the final study: one Standard Canadian, one "heavy" Norwegian English accent and one "light" Norwegian English accent. It was expected that Norwegians would recognize both NE accents to some degree, although the expectation was that Norwegian respondents would be most likely to recognize the "heavy" Norwegian English accent as it was more obviously influenced by Norwegian intonation. By using two Norwegian accents, the aim was to test whether the degree of accent would affect the way the accents were evaluated. The variables differentiating "heavy" and "light" NE accents were left up to the discretion of the voice actor, in keeping with previous methodologies which draw on the intuitive knowledge of the voice actor regarding what constitutes as a "light" or "heavy" accent. Differences between the two NE accents consisted mainly of a more obvious Norwegian stress intonation pattern and Norwegian phonetics influencing the English speech; no grammatical elements were changed. The audio clips were identical in all ways other than pronunciation factors such as stress, intonation and phonetics, as discussed in the exploration of accents in chapter 2.3c.

³² See the discussion on attitudes in chapter 2.3a

³³ The clip came from the childrens book *Room on the Broom* by Julia Donaldson and Axel Scheffler. A transcript is attached in appendix A.

3.2b The pilot study

As mentioned above, matched-guise tests depend on credible accents. Thus a pre-test was designed to be sure the accents were appropriate, and convincing enough, for the purpose of the study. To test the validity of the matched-guise accents, the 3 audio clips prepared for the matched-guise test were randomly dispersed among 4 other clips of the same excerpt read by a variety of Norwegian English speakers and native English speakers from England and North America. The pilot study was distributed to 11 Canadians and 12 Norwegians using an online survey platform, Typeform³⁴. Respondents were instructed to listen to each of the 7 audio clips, and rate each accent as "native English speaker", "non-native English speaker" or "I am not sure". As only the responses toward the 3 matched-guise clips are relevant to this study, the findings of the pilot test show the responses to just those 3 accents (refer to Figure 9 in appendix C). Results indicated that the accents were valid examples of the target accents, and could therefore be used in the survey, as the majority of both Norwegians and Canadians accepted the SC accent as a native speaker accent and the Norwegians rated both Norwegian accents as NNS accents. Interestingly, 10 out of 11 Canadians evaluated the 'heavy' NE accent as an example of a non-native speaker accent, while the Canadian responses to the 'light' NE accent was very mixed (refer to Figure 9 in appendix C). Whether the Canadians evaluated the NE accents as native speakers or non-native speakers during the pilot study was immaterial to shaping the methodology, although it was interesting to predict how Canadian survey respondents might evaluate the NE accents in the final attitude survey.

3.2c The attitude survey

Surveys are an efficient way of collecting information from representative samples, and results can offer generalizability to larger populations (Barton, 2006). The survey³⁵ in this experiment was created through the survey platform Typeform³⁶. Prior to actual data collection, the survey was distributed via email to approximately 20 individuals that the researcher felt were likely to

³⁴ The online survey platform 'Typeform' was also used to create the final attitude-survey.

³⁵ The survey in its entirety is included in appendix A.

³⁶ Typeform allows you to create and send online forms for data collection. It does not record personal information about the respondents.

respond to the survey, including acquaintances of the researcher or university staff, in order to ensure that the survey was working properly and responses were saved as predicted. The pre-survey indicated that there were no glitches in survey distribution or data collection. Afterwards, the survey was distributed online and received a total of 134 respondents, of which 50 self-identified as Norwegian, 57 as Canadian and 23 as other. As the study focuses only on the attitudes of Norwegians and Canadians, responses from the 23 other respondents were not included in the main body of research, though they provided interesting data.

The survey was arranged in three sections. Section 1) gathered personal details regarding age, gender, teaching education, nationality. Section 2) contained the 3 matched-guise audio clips followed by one open-ended question asking for the origin of the accent and a series of closed-questions evaluating how suitable respondents felt each speaker would be in a teaching capacity across five categories. The five categories were level of education, completion of pedagogical training, competence as an English teacher, likeability, and suitability as a private English tutor for struggling students. Section 3) included open-ended questions allowing respondents a chance to make additional comments or explain their responses. In addition, Norwegian respondents were asked extra questions regarding their satisfaction with their own accent and time spent abroad. The survey was structured so that only the responses of practicing English teachers or pre-service teachers were saved; respondents who answered no to teaching English were re-directed to a thank-you screen and their responses were deleted. On average, the survey took 23 minutes and was visited 254 times, with a completion rate of 53 % (134 responses).

It is worth noting that the samples may be biased as the survey was distributed exclusively online, and responses thus came from individuals who use social media or check email on a regular basis. It seemed that a large number of the teachers using these social media sites were high school and elementary level English teachers, but the specific age group or grades of teachers' pupils was not checked. Distribution occurred by posting or emailing a link to the survey through social media pages or websites³⁷ dedicated to English teachers in Canada and Norway. A small introduction explained the topic and intentions of the survey and researcher, without revealing so much information that responses would be skewed. Initially, responses were

³⁷ The researcher contacted people in the facebook groups "Engelsklærer", "ESL teachers", and "Ontario ESL teachers" and reached out to English teachers directly via contacts found on websites belonging to educational institutions in Canada and Norway.

very slow; however interest in the survey eventually increased and the link was shared by members of the online communities, even without the request of the researcher. It also appeared that Norwegians were more interested in answering the survey, as the completion rate was higher for Norwegian respondents and it took more effort to acquire Canadian responses, although in the end there were slightly more Canadian respondents than Norwegian respondents.

3.2d Choosing methods to display the quantitative results

Due to the time and space confines of Masters thesis work, it was decided that descriptive statistics were enough to efficiently display the results of this research. The quantitative results from the attitude surveys are therefore displayed in the form of bar graphs, and no extra statistical analysis has been done to check the validity of the results. For the sake of clarity and to make comparison between the two respondent groups easier, it was decided that one single sum would be found to represent *an overall positivity rating* toward each of the 3 accents, from the Canadians and the Norwegians (refer to Table 3 in chapter 4.1b). It is noted, however, that this method of displaying the results may lead to a loss of precision, and assumes that the 5 different categories of the closed-questions are equally weighted when individuals form attitudes toward accents. This, of course, may not be the case. However, as the purpose of this study was to find general trends/attitudes, a more general perspective was prioritized.

3.3 Qualitative research methods

3.3a The interviews

Barton (2006) explains that conducting interviews after, and in addition to, surveying helps researchers add more depth to quantitative data collection:

Interviews can enrich interpretations that researchers make about quantitative results of their studies using pre-existing survey items... Although particularly useful for interpreting survey results, interviews can also contribute to the body of knowledge about [respondents'] reactions to [survey topics].

(Barton, 2006)

The questions forming the interviews were derived both from the contents of the survey and from the predictions and discussions of relevant research³⁸. The interview questions were ultimately constructed to further answer the research aims: 1) What attitudes do Canadian and Norwegian teachers have toward the target accents? 2) How appropriate do the two groups feel these accents are in the language classroom? and 3) What are the implications these findings bring to the language classroom? Prior to conducting the interviews, a pilot interview was conducted in order to ensure that the interview questions were clearly structured and easy to follow, and that technical elements such as recording devices³⁹ behaved as anticipated.

While the researcher made sure to work through a series of the same 13 prepared questions⁴⁰ with each interviewee, the interview followed a semi-structured set-up, which allowed for divergence from the prepared questions if this proved to be relevant to the thesis. A relaxed, conversational flow permitted the researcher to ask for further explanation, clarifications and descriptions in order to do justice to the complexity of the topic and to encourage uninhibited conversation. When the researcher posed questions that explored reactions to theoretical aspects, such as opinions of Kachru's (1988) myths of the uses and users of English or Jenkins'(2006) suggestion that only pronunciation that is unintelligible should be considered incorrect, the theory was first explained fully and in detail, in order to avoid making the respondents look or feel ignorant (Glesne, 1999). The length of the recorded interviews was approximately 45 minutes per participant. After being recorded on a computer, the interviews were transcribed and the audio recordings were deleted to protect the anonymity of the respondents.

Three Norwegian and three Canadian teachers were interviewed. As discussed in chapter 2.4b, Canada belongs to Kachru's (1992) Inner Circle, and the status of English in Canada, where it is a mother tongue to the majority of the population, is clearly different to the situation of English in Norway. Even when one exclusively considers the ESL teaching of newly-arrived immigrants to Canada and recently naturalized citizens, the situation is not the same. Most English learners in Canada acquire English in order to integrate into and become functioning members of English speaking society, while Norwegians learn English for a variety of ELF purposes, or because it is a required subject at school. The vast differences in the uses and

³⁸ Chapter 2.2c discusses the theory that inspired the interview questions; in particular issues discussed by Jenkins (2006a), Kachru (1992b), Kirkpatrick (2007) and Seidlhofer (2005) inspired the interview questions.

³⁹ The interviews were conducted in a closed room and recorded as audio files on a Mac computer.

⁴⁰ The interview questions are included in appendix B.

teaching methods of English in the two target countries make it difficult to compare what is happening on Canadian and Norwegian soil. However, the study ultimately aimed to reveal how speakers from countries that were traditionally labeled ‘Expanding’ and ‘Inner Circle’ evaluated the target accents, and thus to offer perspectives from both the Inner and Expanding Circles countries, while considering whether these labels are still in fact appropriate labels.

Nevertheless, the varying nature of English in Norway and Canada presented a challenge to the methodology. An attempt was made to level potential bias by avoiding exclusively English teachers in Canada who taught English only to mother tongue Canadians. Instead, both the interviews and the surveys were limited to responses from Canadians who had previously or currently worked as English second language teachers. The interviewees had some important factors in common, namely that all had undergone teacher training at a university level and were currently or had been recently English teachers to students who were not English mother tongue speakers. Some factors were unique to the different interviewees, such as years of teaching experience and the ages of their students. All of the interviewees were acquainted with the researcher, but not closely so⁴¹. Prior to the interview, the participants were given some insight into the topic of research, and were then asked to sign a consent form⁴² indicating their agreement to be recorded, and assuring their anonymity. The interview respondents have been given pseudonyms in order to ensure their anonymity:

Canadian interviewees:

Alice, Canada: Female, in her twenties. L1 English. Graduated from teachers college in Canada and taught ESL to adults in Toronto; has been now teaching English at a primary International School in Hong Kong for two years. Plans to return to Canada and teach French and English in Canada.

Britney, Canada: Female, in her thirties. L1 English. Graduated from teachers college in Canada. Taught ESL in South Korea and Ontario, Canada, to elementary school children. Currently teaching French Immersion in Ontario, Canada at an elementary school.

Calvin, Canada: Male, in his thirties. L1 English. Graduated from teachers college in Canada. Currently teaching English academic and practical writing classes at a college in

⁴¹ The interviewees included classmates and acquaintances that were known to the researcher, but outside of the peer group of the researcher.

⁴² The consent form is included in appendix B.

Toronto, Canada. Has taught ESL courses to adults in Toronto. Has 5 years full time teaching experience.

Norwegian Interviewees:

Astrid, Norway: Female, in her twenties. L1 Norwegian. Graduated from teachers college from a Norwegian university with the main teaching subjects as English and French. Has 2 years full time teaching experience with children and youth school students.

Berit, Norway: Female, in her twenties. L1 Norwegian. Graduated from teachers college at a Norwegian University and worked as an English teacher at a Norwegian high school for one year.

Camilla, Norway: Female, in her thirties. L1 Norwegian. Graduated from teachers college from a Norwegian university. Currently works as a Norwegian teacher but has taught English to Norwegian students at youth school in the past.

One additional factor that may have affected the responses of the Norwegian interviewees was that the interviews were conducted in English. This was decided at the discretion of the researcher, as the topic being discussed was the English language and the researcher did not have the language skills to conduct the interviews effectively in Norwegian. Discussions about the respondents' own accents in English may have been uncomfortable for the respondents, as they needed to speak English while reflecting on their English accents. This was, however, discussed with the interviewees prior to the interviews beginning, and the respondents were encouraged to pass over questions if they felt uncomfortable answering them. However the respondents answered all questions and appeared at ease during the interview process.

3.4 Ethical concerns

All the information collected in this research was done so anonymously. No information that could be traced back to the identity of either the respondents or the interviewees was recorded. Survey respondents were informed that the results of the survey would contribute to a Masters thesis at the Norwegian School of Science and Technology and interviewees signed a consent form which they retained a copy of for their personal records. Respondents of both the survey and the interviews were informed of all aspects of the methods and use of the data collection.

4.0 Results

The results of the attitude survey and the in-depth interviews are divided into two main sections, which correspond with the quantitative and qualitative data respectively. The sample size for the attitude surveys was 50 Norwegians and 57 Canadians. The quantitative section contains a pie-chart displaying the Canadian respondents' interpretations of the origins of the NE accents, comparative graphs of the results of the attitude surveys, and a table of Norwegian responses toward their own accents. The responses of the 2 open-ended questions were analyzed and the major findings are included in the results. The qualitative section is divided into analyses of the Canadian and Norwegian interviews. Three major themes for each group emerged from the analyses, and excerpts from the interviews that support the themes are included in the qualitative results chapter.

4.1 The quantitative results

4.1a Determining the provenance of the target accents

After each audio clip, respondents answered an open-ended question asking whether the accents they heard belonged to a native speaker or non-native speaker of English, and which country they thought the speaker was from. Table 1 displays the Norwegian and Canadian responses to whether the accents of Teachers A, B and C belonged to a native or non-native speaker of English. Responses are displayed both in number of responses ($N= X$) and percentage.

Table 1: Perceived as a NS or NNS? Table 1 displays the Norwegian and Canadian evaluations of whether Teachers A (*SC accent*), B (*heavy NE accent*) and C (*light NE accent*) had native speaker (NS) or non-native speaker accents (NNS). The sample size as a whole was 50 Norwegians and 57 Canadians. Responses are displayed in both number of responses ($N=X$) and percentage of responses.

	NORWEGIAN EVALUATIONS				CANADIAN EVALUATIONS			
	NS	#	NNS	#	NS	#	NNS	#
Teacher A- SC	80 %	$N= 40$	20 %	$N= 10$	96 %	$N= 55$	4 %	$N= 3$
Teacher B- Heavy NE	0%	$N= 0$	100 %	$N= 50$	65 %	$N= 37$	35%	$N= 20$
Teacher C- Light NE	2 %	$N=1$	98%	$N= 49$	65 %	$N= 37$	35 %	$N= 20$

As displayed in Table 1, a total of 100 % of Norwegian respondents guessed the heavy NE accent to be a NNS accent, and a total of 98 % of Norwegian respondents guessed the light NE accent to be a NNS accent. The Canadians were mostly not able to recognize the Norwegian accents, as 65 % of Canadians assumed that both the light and the heavy NE accents were examples of native English speakers (refer to Table 1, responses to Teacher B and C). More Canadians than Norwegians accepted the SC accent as a native speaker accent. In total 20 % of Norwegians evaluated the SC accent as a non-native speaker accent, in comparison to only 4 % of Canadians, (refer to Table 1, responses to Teacher A).

Table 1 illustrates that a total of 65 % of the Canadian respondents assumed both the heavy and light NE were examples of native speaker accents. Survey respondents were also asked to guess the provenance of the accents they heard. All the Norwegians respondents guessed that both the NE accents came from Norway, with the exception of 2 % ($N=1$) Norwegian respondents guessing the light NE accent to be an American accent. In comparison, the Canadian responses as to the provenance both NE accents were very diverse. Figure 3 displays which countries the Canadians believed the heavy NE accent came from. A total of 57 Canadians answered the question, and their responses are displayed as percentages in a pie chart (Figure 3) of different countries/regions that were guessed. A majority of Canadians guessed the speakers to be from varying regions in the United Kingdom: a total of 54 % of the Canadian respondents guessed the heavy NE accent to be an example of a speaker from Scotland, England, Wales or Ireland. An additional 20 % of Canadians either correctly guessed the heavy NE accent to come from "Scandinavia", or gave the name of a Scandinavian country.

As there were so few individual guesses of different countries of origin, all answers pertaining to Scandinavian countries have been included in the category Scandinavia. Likewise, continental/ mainland European countries have been placed under the label ‘Continental Europe’ (i.e. “Germany” and “Holland” were both guessed). Canadian responses to the provenance of the heavy NE accent are demonstrated in Figure 3. Responses to the provenance of the light NE accent were similarly diverse and are included in appendix E, along with Norwegian responses to both NE accents.

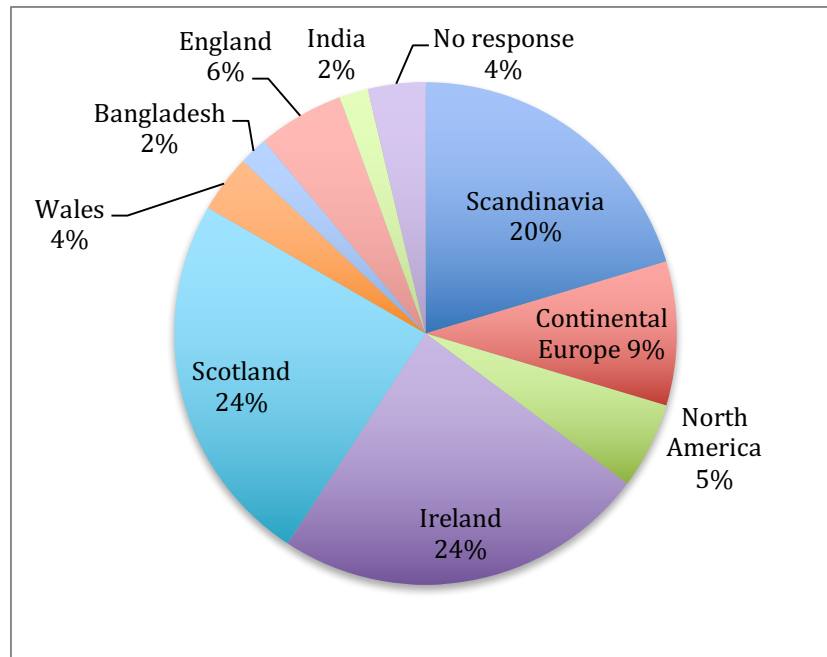


Figure 3: Canadian guesses of the provenance of the heavy NE accent. A total of 57 Canadians answered the open-ended survey question asking the provenance of the heavy NE accent. The pie-graph displays percentages of responses for individual countries/regions. As so few responses were given for some individual countries, the categories ‘Continental Europe’, ‘Scandinavia’ and ‘North America’ include responses for various countries within those regions.

4.1b Attitudes toward the target accents

The results of the 5 closed-questions; 1) years of university education 2) likelihood of having undergone pedagogical teacher training 3) whether students will learn a lot from the teacher 4) likeability as an English teacher and 5) suitability as a private tutor for students struggling with English; were analyzed to find, respectively, percentages of positive responses from the Canadian group, and percentages of positive responses from the Norwegian group, toward each of the 3

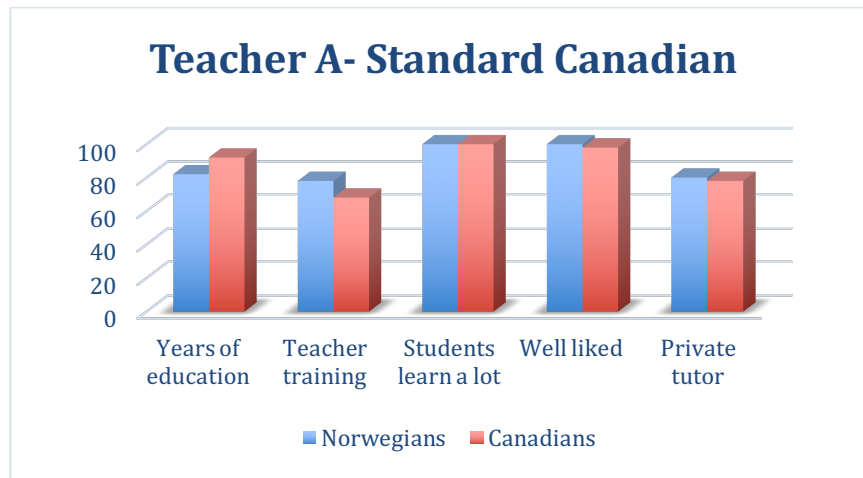


Figure 4: Positive responses to the SC accent across 5 categories. There were 57 Canadian respondents and 50 Norwegian respondents to the 5 closed-questions that evaluated Teacher A/the SC accent. The bar graph displays the percentage of positive responses from the Norwegians (blue) and the Canadians (red). The Norwegians had slightly more positive responses than the Canadians to 3 questions, yet for ‘years of education’, the Canadians had more positive responses, while for ‘students learn a lot’ the responses were equal.

target accents. The responses toward the SC accent are displayed in Figure 4, while the responses toward the heavy NE accent are displayed in Figure 5 and the responses toward the light NE accent are displayed in Figure 6.

The 5 closed-questions were formatted in a way that respondents could choose between ‘agree strongly’, ‘somewhat agree’, ‘somewhat disagree’, and ‘totally disagree’. There was no neutral option, so all responses were either positive or negative. For each question, the ‘agree strongly/somewhat agree’ results were added to one total and the ‘somewhat disagree/totally disagree’ were added to another total, in order to come up with a percentage of positive and negative responses to each question. This is displayed in the bar graph in Figure 4, which demonstrates *only the percentages of positive responses* toward the SC accent from both the Norwegian and Canadian respondents. Positive responses were those that evaluated the accent in a positive light; i.e. the responses ‘strongly agree/somewhat agree’ were considered positive responses for the question, “I think Teacher A’s students’ like her very much” (Figure 4).

In order to compare the percentage of positive Canadian responses and the percentage of positive Norwegian responses to each of the 5 questions, for each of the 3 accents, the *total*

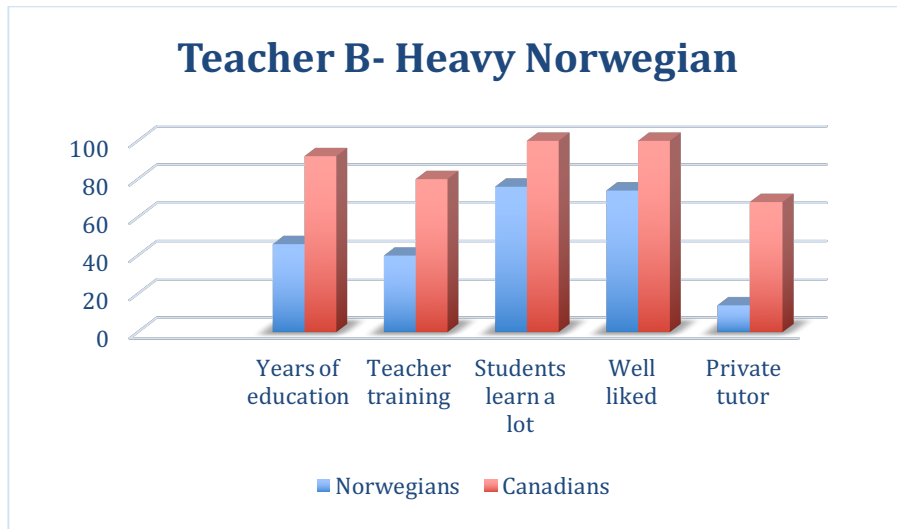


Figure 5: Positive responses to the heavy NE accent across 5 categories. There were 57 Canadian respondents and 50 Norwegian respondents to the 5 closed-questions that evaluated Teacher B/the heavy NE accent. The bar graph displays the percentage of positive responses from the Norwegians (blue) and the Canadians (red). The Canadians had considerably more positive responses than the Norwegians to all 5 closed-questions. In particular the responses to whether the teacher would make a good private tutor were noticeably different, with 68 % of Canadians (39 out of 57) giving a positive response and 14 % of Norwegians (7 out of 50).

positive and negative responses to each question were converted into percentages. For example, there was a total of 50 Norwegian and 57 Canadian responses to the 5 closed-questions regarding the heavy NE accent. As displayed in Figure 5, for Teacher B with the heavy NE accent, 7 out of the 50 Norwegian respondents chose either ‘strongly agree’ or ‘somewhat agree’ for the question “I believe Teacher B would be a good private tutor for a student struggling with English”. Figure 5 displays these 7 positive responses as 14 % ($N= 14$) positive responses, from Norwegians (in blue), to the ‘private tutor’ question. For the same question, 39 out of 57 Canadians chose a positive response to the same question for Teacher B, leading to 68 % ($N=39$) positive responses from the Canadians (in red). This is displayed in Figure 5.

Figure 4, Figure 5 and Figure 6 illustrate the percentage of positive responses from Canadians and Norwegians toward the SC, heavy NE and light NE respectively, across the different categories of the 5 closed-questions. Figure 6 illustrates that Canadians had more

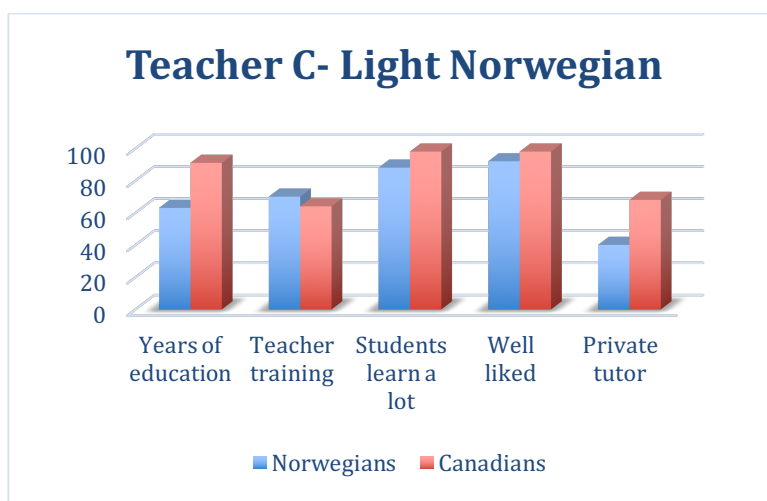


Figure 6: Positive responses to the light NE accent across 5 categories. There were 57 Canadian respondents and 50 Norwegian respondents to the 5 closed-questions that evaluated Teacher B/the heavy NE accent. The bar graph displays the percentage of positive responses from the Norwegians (blue) and the Canadians (red). The Canadians had considerably more positive responses than the Norwegians to all 5 closed-questions questions. In particular the responses to whether the teacher would make a good private tutor were noticeably different, with 68 % of Canadians (39 out of 57) giving a positive response and 14 % of Norwegians (7 out of 50).

positive responses to all 5 questions in the case of Teacher C/the light NE accent. As demonstrated in both Figures 5 and 6, the Norwegian respondents had a lower percentage of positive responses than the Canadians for both of the NE accents, to almost all 5 closed-questions. There is one exception. Norwegians had 6 % more positive responses than the Canadians to the question of whether Teacher C with the light NE accent “had undergone pedagogical teacher training” (Figure 6).

For the sake of clarity, and in order to make comparison easier, one single *total percentage of positive responses* per accent was found. It is, however, acknowledged that finding one sum to represent the ratings across all 5 categories may lead to a biased analysis, which assumes each variable/question is equally weighted. However, for the purpose of this thesis, it was determined that this degree of precision was not necessary in order to get a general representation of the Canadian and Norwegian respondents’ attitudes. In order to find this one representative sum, the percentages of positive responses to all 5 closed-questions were added, and one percentage was found that represents *the total number of positive responses to each*

accent. This was repeated to find one total positivity rating from the Canadians and one from the Norwegians, for each of the 3 accents (Table 3). For example, Table 2 displays how the total positivity rating from the Canadians, for Teacher A, was found.

Table 2: Total positivity rating from the Canadians for Teacher A. The percentage of positive responses to each of the 5 questions from the Canadians to Teacher A (refer to Figure 4), were added and a *total positivity rating* was found.

5 CLOSED-QUESTIONS	PERCENTAGE POSITIVE RESPONSES
1) Years of education	92 %
2) Teacher training	68 %
3) Students learn a lot	100 %
4) Well liked	98 %
5) Suitability as a tutor	78 %
TOTAL AVERAGE	87.2 %

The total positivity ratings for each accent are displayed in Table 3. There was little variation in how the Canadians rated the 3 accents; however, the Canadians actually rated the heavy NE accent highest by a small margin (Table 3). The Norwegians rated the SC accent marginally higher than Canadians rated it, and the heavy NE accent drastically lower than Canadians, with the light NE accent coming in the middle, as is displayed in Table 3.

Norwegian respondents also rated the accents in terms of how intimidated they would be to speak in front of a teacher with that accent. Norwegian respondents were most intimidated by the teacher with the SC accent, as in total 24 % ($N= 12$) found it ‘definitely’/‘somewhat’ intimidating. Comparatively 10 % ($N= 5$) of Norwegian respondents felt ‘somewhat’ intimidated by the light NE accent and 6 % ($N= 3$) felt ‘somewhat’ intimidated by the heavy NE accent.

Table 3: Total positivity ratings toward the 3 accents, across all categories. A total positivity rating was found by averaging the results of the attitude surveys (Figures 4, 5 and 6). Canadians rated all 3 accents similarly. Norwegians rated SC highest, heavy WE lowest and light NE in the middle.

Accent	Canadians	Norwegians
Teacher A- SC	87 %	88 %
Teacher B- heavy NE	88 %	50 %
Teacher C- light NE	84 %	75 %

4.1c Norwegian respondents' attitudes to own accents

Table 4: Norwegian attitudes toward own accent. Of the 50 Norwegians who responded to the survey, 28 % ($N= 14$) had lived abroad and 72 % ($N= 36$) had not. The results are displayed as positive responses (Y= yes) and negative responses (N= no).

	Lived abroad	Never lived abroad
Satisfied with own accent	Y: 93 % N: 7 %	Y: 77 % N: 23 %
Wants to sound more NS	Y: 50 % N: 50 %	Y: 77 % N: 23 %
Minds if people hear NE	Y: 36 % N: 64 %	Y: 53 % N: 47%

Table 4 compares responses of Norwegian respondents who had lived or studied abroad in an English speaking country for more than 3 months with those who had never lived abroad, to questions pertaining to their own accents. Results show that those who had lived abroad were more a) positive toward their own accents, b) less occupied with sounding native-like, and c) cared less if people recognized traces of a Norwegian L1 in their English speech. However, the sample size of Norwegian respondents who had lived abroad was quite a bit smaller than those who had not. There were 50 Norwegian respondents in total, of which 28 % ($N= 14$) had lived abroad and 72 % ($N=36$) had not. The inequality between the numbers of respondents in these two groups may present conclusions that are biased.

4.1d Familiarity with ELF theory and accent discrimination

Respondents were asked whether they were familiar with sociolinguistic concepts such as ELF and/or World Englishes; Norwegians were much more familiar with these concepts than Canadians were. However when asked whether they thought having an accent would affect job opportunities, more Canadians answered yes (Table 5).

Table 5: Responses toward ELF familiarity and accent discrimination. There were 50 Norwegians and 57 Canadians who responded to the question. Responses are displayed in percentages of positive (Y= yes) and negative (N=no) responses.

	NORWEGIANS	CANADIANS
Familiarity with ELF	Y: 88 % N: 12 %	Y: 32 % N: 68%
Accent affects job opportunities	Y: 69 % N: 31 %	Y: 89 % N: 11%

4.1e Open-ended question responses

At the end of the survey, two open-ended questions allowed respondents to express their thoughts. Respondents seemed eager to share their perspectives, as responses were plentiful. The comments were difficult to analyze as many expressed mixed attitudes that were simultaneously positive and negative toward the questions posed. However, the questions were analyzed in terms of attitudes in order to find a general theme. Themes that could be extrapolated from the answers to the open-ended questions are displayed below, along with examples of the most significant comments.

1) *Do NS and NNS teachers have different merits in the ESL classroom?*

There were 45 responses to the question. The responses were analyzed in terms of positive comments regarding both NS and NNS teachers, or an obvious preference for either NS or NNS teachers, or indifference. Of the 45 responses, 21 responses were interpreted as positive to both NS/NNS teachers, 12 positive to NS teachers, 7 to NNS teachers and 5 were indifferent.

The strongest theme that emerged was thus a recognition of the merits of *both* NS and NNS teachers. However some comments hinted toward attitudes that NSs owned/were the best

representatives of "real English". Fragments of the most significant responses are organized into positive comments regarding NS and NNS teacher merits:

Positive comments toward NS teachers:

"The NS teacher is inherently a little more interesting"; "they can play the part of role model"; "makes a more significant phonetic contribution"; "it is easier to teach a language you are comfortable with"; "a NS will be a 'perfect' example of English and familiar with the small talk"; "you know the native speaker will teach you the 'real thing' with no mistakes"; "the NS will know idioms/slang, "; "the NS will impress the students"

Positive comments toward NNS teachers:

"They identify problem words/areas for the students"; "understand the difficulties of L2 learning"; "less intimidating"; "more patient and understanding"; "understand why the students make the mistakes they do, as they are probably the same ones the teacher made when they themselves learned the language"

2) Do you feel that pronunciation that differs from Standard English should be corrected? Why or why not?

There were 47 responses to the question. The themes that emerged were very mixed; some respondents adamantly held on to NS standards while others felt that developing an ability to communicate was the most important factor for L2 students. There was no clear consensus. The responses have been divided into the two themes that emerged, namely "Communication" and "NS role models". Examples of the most significant responses are included below:

Communication should dictate pronunciation teaching:

"Mistakes will affect comprehension"; "it should be corrected if it causes a change in meaning"; "the accent is not as important as grammar or syntax"; "ESL teachers' views of accents might not be best for students"; "the most important thing is that people will understand the students"; "communication is most important, and a heavy foreign accent is still easier to understand than a mumbling native speaker"; "perfection doesn't help in a lingua franca situation- linguistic imperialism must end!"

Pronunciation should be modeled after standard NS English:

"I would like the language to be as close to the original as possible, be that either one of the great English dialects, though the kids should be allowed to chose which one to go for, be it redneck US or Oxford British"; "students should learn about the 'classic' standard pronunciations"; "it might help them feel more comfortable"; "even though English is an international language, students should still strive to master the pronunciation"; "I believe in correction by modelling correct pronunciation"; "yes, I correct pronunciation even if the error has no effect on the understanding- we are trying to teach students another language after all, and pronunciation is part of that"

4.2 The qualitative results

The vast differences between the Canadian and Norwegian interpretations of the accents were strengthened by similar findings in the interviews. Only 3 Norwegian and 3 Canadian teachers were interviewed, and naturally it is possible that their perspectives are not representative of the larger population of Norwegian and Canadian English teachers as a whole. Nevertheless, despite the individual experiences and educations of the interviewees⁴³, very obvious trends/attitudes emerged that were unique to the Norwegian and Canadian groups, respectively.

4.2a Canadian interview themes

Through the interviews, it was revealed that the Canadian teachers were not overly occupied with NS teaching models and were relatively relaxed as to the ideal pronunciation goals of ESL students in Canada. This is not to say that the Canadian interviewees were not affected by standard language ideologies; all three Canadian teachers alluded to SLIs by suggesting that new English speakers in Canada may be unfairly discriminated against if they do not adopt a standard Canadian variety of English. Nevertheless, the Canadian respondents seemed open to variation and adamant that clear communication should always be the most important factor when it comes to pronunciation teaching in the ESL classroom. The Canadians were also very aware that ESL learner aims in Canada are most likely dictated by the desired identity and cultural integration

⁴³ View the description of the interviewees in chapter 3.3a.

aims of the learners; the interviewees were, for that reason, preoccupied with the concept that the pronunciation of their students should reflect both the location of their residence and the cultural identity they wished to portray. The major themes that arose in the Canadian interviews have been divided into 3 sections: communication, locality/identity, and standard language ideologies. Interesting segments pertaining to the 3 themes are included below.

1. Communication:

All 3 Canadians ultimately claimed that an ability to communicate should be the number one goal that teachers direct their students towards. Several of the Canadian interviewees mentioned international contexts, and in doing so recognized that their students might need English to communicate with "a wider range of people" (Alice) than only NS Canadians. The ability to have meaningful communication, and therefore a focus on comprehensibility, was a reoccurring theme in the 3 interviews:

I try to make my teaching realistic and communication based- to prepare students how to go out into the world and if they meet someone who speaks English with an accent, they can still have a meaningful conversation. - Alice

The majority of teachers these days are teaching content, not 'correct' pronunciation...they would correct pronunciation only if it affected comprehension, not just for 'accent'. - Britney

My goal is never to obliterate an existing accent, but maybe to soften it just to the point where it does not impact comprehension - Calvin

2. Locality:

When asked their opinion on appropriate accent aims for ESL students, the Canadians suggested 'neutral' accents, meaning accents that were not markedly connected with any culture or location, or 'localized' accents belonging to the language community within which the language learner found themselves, i.e. SC accents for ESL learners in Canada. The interviewees all emphasized that accent aims depended on the purpose the students themselves wished to learn English for; English for international reasons warranted a different accent aim than ESL students hoping to acquire English in order to integrate into Canadian English speaking society:

The ideal goal would be kind of neutral... but I think it is a good goal to have your own accent; there is nothing wrong with having an accent as long as you are understood. For an ESL student in a Canadian class, it would make more sense for them to sound Canadian. The goal with language should be to fit in with the people around you and be understood. - Alice

I would say neutral would be the best accent for them to have, in terms of having opportunities as a global citizen...in Canada, I would not aim for them to have any certain accent, no. But I think the students would really want to sound Canadian. - Britney

For a lot of students coming to Canada and moving here, their goal is assimilation. Their goal is to have no accent at all. And whether that is right or wrong could be discussed, but that is often how it is. - Calvin

3. Adherence to standard language ideologies:

While it seemed that the Canadians were advocates for the students speaking whatever accent they desired, all 3 Canadians tacitly acknowledged that achieving a standard accent might be beneficial to the students. All 3 Canadians alluded to the fact that students might be discriminated against if they did not acquire a standard accent, even though the interviewees rejected openly adhering to SLI themselves. Rather, the Canadians referred to an illusive "they" that would be more "pleased" with the L2 speakers if they *did* achieve a native-like accent: employers, other Canadians, or the 'world'.

I think the majority of people would be perceived as more skilled, better at speaking English and more competent if they spoke English with no traces of their own accent. I think that is kind of sad but I think that is the way the world is. - Alice

It is just easier if you don't have anything that connects you to a certain place. There are a lot of people that carry certain biases towards different accents. - Britney

I am aware of "correct" being a construct. But it is also for [the students] own good. I am preparing them for the work force... it is also me correcting their language so that their language in the workplace will be the dialect that their employers are going to want. - Calvin

4. 2b Norwegian interview themes

The Norwegian interviews revealed that 2 of the 3 Norwegian interviewees were fairly adamant that it was in the best interest of their students if they aimed for NS pronunciation models. All 3 interviewees felt rather strongly that NE was not desirable, yet 2 of the interviewees indicated that the desires of the students themselves were the most important factors in determining accent aims. The interviewees expressed a feeling that NS English is "good" or "proper". They felt that this sentiment was deeply ingrained in Norwegian society and themselves as individuals. One interviewee, Camilla, was more open to neutral accent aims and expressed frustration at working alongside teachers who were negative toward NE accents in the classroom. However, she too admitted a preference for NS accents and a negative reaction to hearing influential figures who represent Norway speak with NE accents. She felt that politicians with NE accents presented a negative picture of Norway to the international public eye. Altogether, 3 main themes emerged in the Norwegian interviews: negativity toward Norwegian English, confidence, and fear of teaching without a standard.

1. Negativity toward NE accents

The 3 Norwegian interviewees were more or less in agreement with the sentiment that NE accents were not an acceptable role model in the classroom, either because they aligned native-like accents with proficiency and expected the language teachers to be very proficient, or because they felt that NE accents were undesirable.

I would encourage my students to strive towards having a pronunciation that doesn't reflect that they are Norwegian. Which is interesting because when I took the survey I said that their accent does not really matter- as long as their speaking is clear and understandable. But I think it is still a little too ingrained in me that we should strive toward a native speaker accent, whether English or American. - Astrid

I use [a native speaker accent] and I think it is good for the kids... if I had had a very Norwegian accent it would not have been good. In a Norwegian school it is important if they don't really sound Norwegian, at least. They are going to teach this language to someone as best as they can, so...- Berit

I feel like SUCH a hypocrite in a way, because I have a problem with the sort of fetishization of both British and American English and how we favour that over other strands of native speaker English.... But at the same time, I cringe when I listen to [...] Norwegian politicians who sound VERY Norwegian. - Camilla

2. Confidence

The 3 Norwegian interviews also all mentioned confidence, both their own as teachers and in the hopes of shaping confident students, as a factor that motivated them to strive toward NS accents.

I don't know where it comes from, but we have this view (especially of Norwegians speaking English) that we need to be perfect at either of those two [NS] accents. I think people are quite shy when they are trying to speak with native speakers, they feel they are lacking pronunciation, they want to sound like perfect native speakers of either British or American. - Astrid

Especially when kids get to a certain age and they feel like they have a strong Norwegian accent they will feel very hesitant about using the language. And if they feel very hesitant about it, they won't be using it. If they don't use it they won't learn it as well. - Berit

There is definitely a confidence factor. Just being confident in your language abilities really affects your teaching abilities. Having a good accent would at least reassure me that I am at a higher level than the students- because I am supposed to be- I am the teacher! - Camilla

3. Fear of teaching without a standard

One interview question raised the issue of the rejection of native speaker norms in global English language classrooms. The interviewees were informed that some scholars are suggesting doing away with native speaker standards in the classroom entirely. After listening to the current theories, the interviewees were asked to reflect on whether a rejection of NS models would work in their classrooms. All three interviewees were sceptical towards teaching English without relying on NS models. Camilla seemed positive toward the idea, but was sceptical about such a theory becoming a practical reality in Norway, as the resources in Norwegian schools do not support a NNS teaching model.

I think that would be a bit challenging. How do you deal with all that variation, and different words? It would be a challenge to give someone feedback, or grade them. – Astrid

I find it hard to reject because... if you don't think about how you say anything it would just fall apart. I still think you should try to sound [like a native speaker]. Imagine if everyone was speaking differently we would have to find someone to look at in the end. You need a target, something to work towards in the end.

– Berit

I think it would be difficult because the Norwegian school system... even though the teachers are using the books less, all the materials and resources are geared toward American or British English. The oral resources are American or British voices. And for me personally... to start speaking differently [from native speaker accented English] would be weird. – Camilla

The interview results suggested that the Norwegian interviewees had a more conclusive feeling that NS accents were the most 'appropriate' in the language classroom, than the Canadians. Overall, the 3 Norwegian interviewees expressed aversion toward NE accents in the classroom although Camilla, and Berit to a degree, mentioned 'neutral' accents as an appropriate aim. The Discussion chapter will explore why the results may have turned out as they did, and what the implications of the results may be.

5.0 Discussion

The results of the attitude surveys revealed a stark difference between the Canadian and Norwegian reactions to the three accents. These findings were strengthened by the themes that emerged in the interviews. The results of the surveys indicated a negative attitude toward the NE accents in the Norwegian group, and all three Norwegian interviewees expressed aversion toward Norwegian accented English. The Canadian attitude survey respondents rated all three accents similarly, and alluded in the interviews to integration and desired learner aims as the overarching factors that should direct ESL pronunciation teaching in Canada. The obvious conclusion that surfaced from the research is that the Norwegians were much harsher critics of the NE accents than the Canadians were, and more critical toward having Norwegian accented English in the English language classroom. There may be many reasons why the results turned out as they did. In order to attempt to explain the vast discrepancy, four possible explanations of the results are discussed in this chapter:

1. Misinterpretation of the NE accents
2. Familiarity with Norwegian as an L1
3. Canadians unfamiliar with ELF issues
4. Different linguistic environments

While none of the possible explanations is wholly satisfactory on its own, a combination of elements from the four explanations may account for the difference between the Canadian and the Norwegian attitudes. Additionally, analysis of the interviews expose ambiguities in the attitudes of both Norwegians and Canadians, and section 5.2 of the Discussion explores the interviews through the lens the of theory discussed in chapter 3. The merits of NS versus NNS teachers are explored extensively in section 5.3 of this chapter, and lastly the findings of the Discussion chapter are connected and applied to the specific research questions of this thesis in section 5.4, with the aim of providing tentative answers.

5.1 Explaining the differences between Norwegian and Canadian attitudes

5.1a Canadian misinterpretation of the NE accents

Questions that required respondents to state the provenance of the accents revealed that the majority of Canadians assumed both the light and heavy NE accents to be examples of native English speakers. Munro (2003) suggests that Canadians do in fact tend to prefer NS English accents and discriminate based on accent; therefore, the misinterpretation of the NE accents alone could have drastically affected the results and contributed to the positive evaluations from the Canadians. Possibly, if the experiment were repeated with non-native speaker accents that the Canadians recognized as non-native accents, the Canadians would not have been as positive toward all three accents, as in the case of Cargile and Giles (1998) who found that Americans rated 'light' and 'heavy' Japanese accents (which they recognized as NNS) negatively compared to Standard American accents. Of course, it may be unfair to compare the findings of Cargile and Giles (1998). Even if the Canadians had known the accents were Norwegian, they may have evaluated them as "European accents", for which they perhaps have a very different set of associations and social evaluations than those they have for "Asian accents", or other recognizable NNS accents.

Additionally, not only did 65 % of Canadians interpret both NE accents as NS accents, 54 % of Canadians judged the 'heavy' NE accent and 49 % of Canadians judged the 'light' NE accent to be from somewhere in the UK. Given that British accents consistently receive high ratings for prestige (Milroy, 2001), this misrecognition could also have contributed to the high positivity ratings from the Canadians toward the NE accents. Ultimately, it is highly plausible that the inability of the Canadians to hear that the NE accents were NNS accents contributed to their attitudes toward the NE accents, and it is possible that they were additionally influenced by misinterpreting the accents to be British.

It is not possible to hypothesize how Canadians would have rated the accents if they had been informed of the provenance of the accents prior to evaluating them. Past research suggests that knowledge of the provenance of accents may both positively or negatively influence

attitudes. The belief alone that someone is ‘foreign’ may lead NSs to assess accents negatively (Pütz et al., 2014). Or, on the contrary, assess them more positively because the English is better than expected (Brown, 1992). Past studies do indicate, however, that NNS accents that are very phonetically different from NS accents may be judged more negatively than ‘softer’ accents by native English speakers (Derwing & Munro, 1997). That Canadians mistook the NE accents as native speakers likely means that they would not consider the accents as ‘heavy foreign accents’, even if they had been informed that they were NNS accents, and therefore may still have judged them positively. Indeed, Jenkins (2009) found that listeners rated Swedish accented English as the “best” variety of English, after the typical NS varieties (UK and General American). Jenkins (2009) felt this was due to the Swedish English accent being an ‘atypical’ NNS accent that was phonetically quite close to English. As Norwegian English accents and Swedish English accents are phonetically similar, this could also apply to the NE accents in this study.

5.1b Norwegian familiarity with Norwegian as a first language

Though these factors may appear to be similar, the inability of the Canadians to recognize the NE accents as non-native speakers, and the familiarity of the Norwegian respondents with Norwegian accented English, are not the same thing and have different effects on accent perception. If the Canadians had been able to identify the accents as Norwegian, they may still have been less harsh towards NE accents than the Norwegians, as they are not *intimately familiar* with the Norwegian language.

Concepts of interlanguage or fossilized language posit that L2 learners who retain traces of their L1 in their L2 speech have failed to attain the ultimate aim, namely native-like speech. Norwegians, being familiar with the phonetics and stress intonation of Norwegian, are much more likely than Canadians to hear the transference of Norwegian phonetic features onto the English language. If they equate native-like accents with ‘good English’, the Norwegians will likely interpret instances of Norwegian phonetics or stress placement as *errors* in English speech. In a similar study, Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997) found that Austrians rated English with audible traces of the phonetics of their own L1, Austrian, more harshly than NS varieties.

While Norwegians are probably aware that Scandinavian countries consistently score high on English proficiency tests, they may judge NE accents to a greater extent than they would judge

other NNS varieties of English, *if they did not recognize them as NNS varieties*. Risan's (2014) findings suggest that Norwegians consider Norwegian accented English as superior to French or Chinese accented English, yet it is probable that if the attitude surveys of this thesis were repeated with 'light' NNS accents with which the Norwegians were *not familiar*, they would have reacted in much the same way as the Canadians did toward the NE accents.

It is probably that the familiarity of Norwegians with the Norwegian language affected their judgements toward NE accents, as Norwegian-influenced pronunciation, stress and intonation will be interpreted as failed attempts to attain 'proper English'. Canadians, however, may have continued to evaluate the accents more positively than Norwegians even if they had *known* the speakers were from Norway and the accents were Norwegian. Not being familiar with the Norwegian language means that Canadians would not perceive the transference of Norwegian phonetic features as 'mistakes' or 'errors' to the same extent as Norwegians.

5.1c Canadians unfamiliar with ELF issues

The responses to the open-ended survey questions revealed that, compared to the Norwegians, Canadians were not very familiar with concepts of ELF or World English(es). A full 88 % of Norwegian teachers were familiar with/ had studied ELF or World English(es), compared to only 32 % of Canadians, suggesting that Norwegians may be more educated about issues of global English. This might lead to the assumption that, of the two groups, Norwegians would be more tolerant toward variation in the classroom, although the results of the attitude surveys indicate otherwise. The assumption that Canadians are not very aware of tensions that may arise from their native language acquiring a lingua franca status, was strengthened by the interviews. The Canadian interviewees were keen to talk about ESL teaching in Canada and the pros and cons of native speaker models in Canadian ESL curriculum, yet all three interviewees were unfamiliar with global English concepts and uncertain about how to approach pronunciation teaching for L2 English learners in non-English speaking countries.

The results of the attitude surveys and the interviews suggest that of the two groups, the Canadians are more accepting of a variety of accents in the language classroom, yet it was also revealed that they were less educated in terms of ELF/World English theory. The naivety of Canadians toward global English theories may be due to their position as Inner Circle native

speakers. Some native speakers of English appear to take for granted that everyone they encounter should be able to communicate with them in English (Dillard, 1985). This attitude is exclusively monolingual and could be linked to Canadians paying little regard to questions of global English that may be central to L2 learners, such as L2 accents and identity, as they feel these questions do not affect them or their ESL students *who wish to integrate into Canadian society*. Despite Canada's linguistic diversity, the majority of Canadians who have English as a first language are monolingual⁴⁴ and may not be intimately aware of questions central to L2 accents. Thus it is possible that the Canadian survey respondents⁴⁵ approached the NE accents from a perspective of 'monolingual ignorance'. Jenkins (2009) suggests that monolingual attitudes may make NS ignorant about how to accommodate their English to different contexts, and lead to an inability to adjust to different cultural or linguistic backgrounds. In regards to the results of this research, naivety towards ELF theory in general may have contributed to the assumption that the NE accents were native English speakers, if the Canadians *only* equate accents that impede comprehensibility with NNS accents.

Of course, a laissez-faire or ignorant native speaker attitude is probably not what caused the different attitudes of the two groups, as the Canadians' belief that the accents belonged to native speakers would dictate their attitudes more than their lack of interest in the topic. Further, they did communicate a tolerant perspective during the interviews. However, it *may* have led them to spend less time considering the position of speakers with non-standard English accents during the survey. If the Canadians were generally uninterested in the task at hand, it may have caused them to rate all three accents equally. It is possible that the Canadians were unaffected by, and unaware of, accent discrimination toward non-standard English accents that do not impede comprehension, having neither studied these topics during their pedagogical education nor considered L2 accents from a personal perspective.

The idea that Norwegians were generally more occupied with attitudes toward the topic of the research was strengthened throughout the course of the research. The Norwegians appeared much more interested in the topic in general, and several Norwegian respondents reached out to the researcher through social media after completing the survey, wanting more information about

⁴⁴ See chapter 2.4b

⁴⁵ All the Canadian survey respondents had English as a first language. They were not asked if they were bilingual or multilingual.

the topic and hoping to see the results after the research was completed. Again, the Canadians appeared comparatively less interested in the topic, and Canadian respondents were harder to recruit. In summary, the interest of Norwegians in the topic, and the lack of awareness of Canadians of the implications of the topic, could partly have contributed to the results. The Norwegians may have been more sensitive to issues of accent discrimination, and judged the accents from a perspective they believed native speakers would, while Canadians judged the accents from a position of ignorance or little interest.

5.1d Differing linguistic environments

One final possible explanation, which may have contributed to the discrepancy in the results, is that the linguistic environment in Canada is more relaxed toward non-standard accents in English. As Canadians belong to the Inner Circle, they are also often exposed to non-native speaker or non-standard accents in English due to the high number of immigrants. The average Canadian is much more likely to hear a wide range of Englishes than the average Norwegian, as the Canadian interviewee Alice expressed: “I think it helps that we have a [teaching staff] that have many different accents because we all see that it does not affect comprehension that they all use different accents.” By contrast, as English does not have an official status in Norway, Norwegians will get most of their exposure to English in school or through Anglophone media, both of which will expose them primarily to standardized NS English varieties, perhaps in addition to NE accents. Further, in the classroom Norwegians may be ‘corrected’ by the teacher if a transference of Norwegian phonetics occur while the student is speaking English, as demonstrated by Drew and Sørheim’s (2011) outline of ‘teaching strategies’ directed at avoiding/correction Norwegian pronunciation. Correction in the classroom when students use Norwegian accented English will instill in students a sense that this pronunciation is ‘wrong’.

However, despite Canadians being exposed to a wider range of Englishes than Norwegians, Norwegians do still encounter a wide variety of Englishes through ELF interactions with international students or expats in Norway, or while travelling to Outer or Expanding circle countries. It is therefore a rather weak proposition to suggest that the stark contrast between the attitude survey results is due exclusively to Canadians being more familiar with and open to variation in English, especially as Munro (2003) revealed that Canadians do discriminate based

on accent. Nevertheless, it is worth considering that Canadians are exposed to a multitude of English varieties on a regular basis, whereas Norwegians may be more often exposed only to standardized NS varieties, and to stigmatized Norwegian accented English.

5.2 Confidence, ideologies and the native speaker ideal

The discussion in chapter 5.1 leads to the tentative conclusion that the difference between the Norwegian and Canadian results of the attitude surveys originated primarily from the Canadians' misinterpretation of the accents as examples of native speakers, and the Norwegians' familiarity with 'mistakes' in English that could only arise from having Norwegian as an L1. It is plausible that attitudes were also affected by Canadians simply not being as well informed, nor caring as much about, accent discrimination and therefore not having as rigid expectations of how NNS should sound, or Canadians having a more laidback attitude toward accent variation because they are likely to hear a wider variety of accents in English on a regular basis. Both of the last two theories are too weak to stand alone as it has been suggested that Canadians do prefer standardized accents (Munro, 2003), yet they may both have impacted the results to a degree.

Interestingly, the interview results suggested that there are deeper factors than simply the ability to recognize the provenance of the accents that helped to determine both the Canadian and Norwegian responses to the accents. During the interviews, it became apparent that Canadians and Norwegians have *very* different attitudes toward what constitutes appropriate accents in the English language classroom. The interviews suggested that the Norwegian attitudes are in keeping with Kachru's (1992) concept of a norm-developing, norm-dependent relationship between Expanding and Inner Circle speakers, as the Norwegian interviewees *did* rely heavily on NS models as examples of 'correct' or 'appropriate' accents, both in and out of the classroom. The Norwegian interviewee Astrid expressed: "it is ingrained in me that we should strive toward [and push our students to strive] toward a native speaker accent, whether it is English or American". Similarly, one open-ended respondent claimed, "I would like the language to be as close to the original as possible, be it one of the great British dialects or redneck US". Norwegians were more familiar with ELF theory and recognized that NS accent goals were constraining in the language classroom, as Norwegian interviewee Camilla emphasized: "we did

spend time talking about pronunciation and native speaker ideal, it is in the [pedagogical teacher training program] so we leave university knowing and being aware of these issues”. Nevertheless the Norwegian interviewees and survey respondents clearly retained a strong feeling that NE accents were not desirable, and perhaps even indicated poor language skills.

In keeping with Rindal’s (2013) finding of a large minority of Norwegians aspiring toward English accents not related to any particular Anglophone culture, the Norwegian interviewees Camilla in particular and Berit to a degree mentioned ‘neutral accents’ (those that were not marked by one particularly noticeable pronunciation pattern) as an acceptable goal. However, all three Norwegian interviewees could not let go of an intrinsic feeling that NS accents were ‘superior’ or ‘desirable’ in English, stating that it was simply “ingrained” in them (Astrid), that it was important that Norwegian English teachers “didn’t sound Norwegian” (Berit) or that they “cringed when [they] heard politicians who sounded very Norwegian” (Camilla).

In contrast, the Canadians did not in any way vocalize a sentiment that learners needed to acquire a native-like accent, but rather put a stress on communication and comprehension as being the most important factors in L2 learning, while still emphasizing that it was probable their students *themselves* would wish to sound Canadian. By regarding any accent as acceptable, they asserted a much more relaxed attitude toward accents and appeared to have less constraining standards for their students. The Canadian interviewees seemed to feel strongly that culture and language were deeply entwined, and that ESL students in Canada would aspire to integrate into the linguistic group of Standard Canadian speakers. However, to claim that *only* Norwegians were occupied with native speaker standards does not probe deeply enough into the results. As Inner Circle speakers, the Canadians were on many levels able to *avoid* the extremely challenging questions that the Norwegians faced during the interview process. Given the status of English as a lingua franca, it is reasonable that all English teachers should be actively aware of and engaged with these issues.

The Canadian interviewees avoided elaborating on questions of appropriate pronunciation models for L2 learners by stating that immigrants to Canada should learn Standard Canadian, as expressed by Alice: “I try to expose them to lots of different accents, but make it clear that we are going to use the accent closest to us, the Canadian accent, not because it is right or wrong but because of proximity”. This ‘easy solution’ dismisses the challenging question that all three Norwegian interviewees found difficult to answer, namely how to create a curriculum

that does not rely on native speaker varieties but accepts variation, in order to create confident language users of whichever variety of English students acquire. The effects of globalization are such that nearly all English speakers will use English in an ELF context at some point (Dewey, 2007). Hence, these issues are pertinent to speakers from the Expanding, Outer *and* Inner Circles. Language teachers in *every circle* must share the responsibility to be up to date with theories that address the practical challenges of English teaching, in an era where English has the status it does.

That Canadians may be unaware of or dismiss ELF teaching issues, as they feel they are not applicable to their students, leaves the burden of clear communication between native speakers and non-native speakers exclusively with the non-native speakers by making it ‘their problem’. This attitude continues to put the native speaker on a pedestal; hence, though the Canadians ultimately appeared more open, relaxed and communication-based in their teaching models, their tendency to quickly claim that Standard Canadian was the most natural accent aim for ESL students in Canada *could* disguise the old-fashioned or conservative attitudes that Widdowson (1994) and Pennycook (1998) argue so strongly against; namely, a belief that native speakers ‘own’ English, and native-like accents are superior.

Such internalized attitudes may have contributed to the way all three Canadians alluded to an outside ‘they’ whom they feared would negatively judge L2 students with non-standard accents. All three Canadians disclosed that while they themselves did not judge non-native English accents, they were still concerned that students who retained heavy accents would face discrimination from possible future employees or acquaintances. Despite shifting the blame to an outside ‘they’, by claiming that foreign-accented students may face discrimination, the Canadians all expressed inclusion within a ‘standard language culture’ (Milroy, 2001). Milroy (2001) claims that belonging to a ‘standard language culture’ leads to naturalized and deeply internalized attitudes toward standardized forms. This may occur to such an extent that language users may not realize that they themselves retain a strong, innate sense that their own, standardized language is the benchmark against which other forms are evaluated.

All three Canadians communicated positive attitudes towards non-native English accents and emphasized communication, while still admitting that having a non-native accent might give their students a disadvantage in an English speaking community. Britney referred to this sentiment by claiming, “there are a lot people that carry certain biases to different accents.” It is

possible that these sentiments indicate that the Canadian interviewees harbour a fundamental belief in the authority of monolingual English Canadian standard language ideology. It cannot be stated with any certainty to what extent the three Canadian interviewees or the Canadian survey respondents did or did not conform to standard language ideologies of SC English, yet all three interviewees did allude to accent discrimination, and it is essential to analyze their responses critically although on the surface they appeared much more open to variation than the Norwegian group.

One theme that particularly stood out in all three Norwegian interviews was ‘confidence’, as Camilla alluded to: “there is a definitely a confidence factor. Just being confident in your language abilities really affects your teaching abilities.” Though the three Norwegian interviewees had slightly different opinions about the place of NS accents in language classrooms in Norway, all three felt that using native-like accents made them more confident language teachers, and that students who acquired native-like accents would be much more confident language users than those who did not (refer to section 4.2b in the Results chapter). Naturally, language teachers desire that students should feel confident and comfortable speaking the target language; indeed much research supports the fact that self-confidence affects both motivation and success in attaining a second language (Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1994). However, the question that must be addressed is *why* native-like accents give students and teachers a sense of confidence.

All three Norwegian interviewees expressed that though they did not wish to feel the way they did about NE accents, they found themselves “critical to the [audio clips that] did not sound like native speakers of English” and thought NE accents might indicate a “lower level of education” (Astrid). The Norwegian interviewees believed that students “would feel really hesitant about using English” (Berit) if they had NE accents, and if they themselves as teachers retained traces of a Norwegian L1 it would “definitely affect [their] confidence in the classroom” (Camilla). These sentiments get to the heart of the matter, and the reason why Jenkins’ (2015) paradigm shift away from NS pronunciation models arguably is not underway in Norwegian English classrooms.

Seidlhofer (2004) argued that a greater variety of resources, featuring a greater variety of Englishes, would need to make their way into language classrooms in order for teachers to move away from traditional NS models. To bring NE accents into Norwegian English classrooms in a

positive light as teaching resources would help implement this shift. However, though Kirkpatrick (2007) has argued that *endonormative* teaching models are desirable in order to counteract a heavily NS based curriculum, they will *not* be implemented until a country accepts the credibility of its own localized strand of English. Despite Rindal and Piercy's (2013) findings that a large minority of Norwegian youths aspire toward a 'neutral' pronunciation that is not connected to a native speaker culture, and despite the 88 % of Norwegian survey respondents who claim to be familiar with theories of World Englishes, the results of this study suggest that Norwegian English teachers retain firm beliefs that NE accents are not desirable, as all three Norwegian interviewees heavily emphasized that 'confidence is negatively impacted by having a NE accent'.

Tajfel's (1981) theory of social identity posits that individuals evaluate the world based on which groups they belong to, and evaluate their sense of self worth through their belonging to specific groups. The theory suggests that persons assign worth values to social groups and categorize individuals as belonging to high status 'in-groups' or undesirable 'out-groups'. The theory of social group behaviour can be applied to this research as the Norwegian interviewees seemed to assign speakers with native-like English accents as belonging to a privileged 'in-group' associated with higher levels of education, likeability and better language skills, as per the results of the attitude surveys. The concept of social group identity theory argues that individuals within the in-group will exaggerate or discriminate against what they determine are negative qualities belonging to the out-group, in order to differentiate themselves from qualities they consider negative and inflate their own self-worth.

Norwegians may retain internalized language ideologies through the consumption of Anglophone media that portrays primarily standardized, native speaker Englishes. If so, they may participate in social group theory behaviours that seek out negative qualities in the speech of other Norwegians with NE accents, in order to distance themselves from accents that they believe on a fundamental level to be negatively perceived or 'wrong'. Examples of this behaviour are the harsh reactions from the Norwegian public toward Norwegians with noticeable NE accents, as in the case of Thorbjørn Jagland⁴⁶.

⁴⁶ See Risan (2014) and chapter 1.0

A desire to belong to the ‘in-group’ and a fear of falling into the ‘out-group’ contributes greatly to the themes of ‘confidence’ that arose in the Norwegian interviews. These behaviours, and actions, are part of a vicious cycle that make it difficult to usher in the paradigm change that Jenkins’ (2015) calls for, or to implement Kirkpatrick’s (2007) endonormative teaching model. An endonormative teaching model cannot be implemented until Norwegians find NE accents socially acceptable, but Norwegian teachers do not feel confident using NE accents in the classroom *because* they are not socially acceptable, and are obviously perceived as undesirable by the general Norwegian public. However, the results of this study, though limited to Canadian and Norwegian participants, suggest that NE accents may be socially unacceptable *only to Norwegians*, or speakers who are familiar with the Norwegian language. Further, stigmatization of these accents by Norwegians may stem from a desire to distance themselves from what is perceived as the undesirable ‘out-group’, non-standard English speakers. This behaviour could mean that Norwegians may be their own worst enemy, by condemning accents that are natural for their community of English language users to have. To complete the circle, as has been briefly mentioned, low confidence may contribute to poor language acquisition and outcome (Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1994).

The issue of ‘confidence’, as expressed by all three Norwegian interviewees and seen in conjunction with Tajfel’s social group theory, is very revealing in terms of understanding why Norwegian English teachers express difficulties rejecting native speaker ideals in the language classroom.

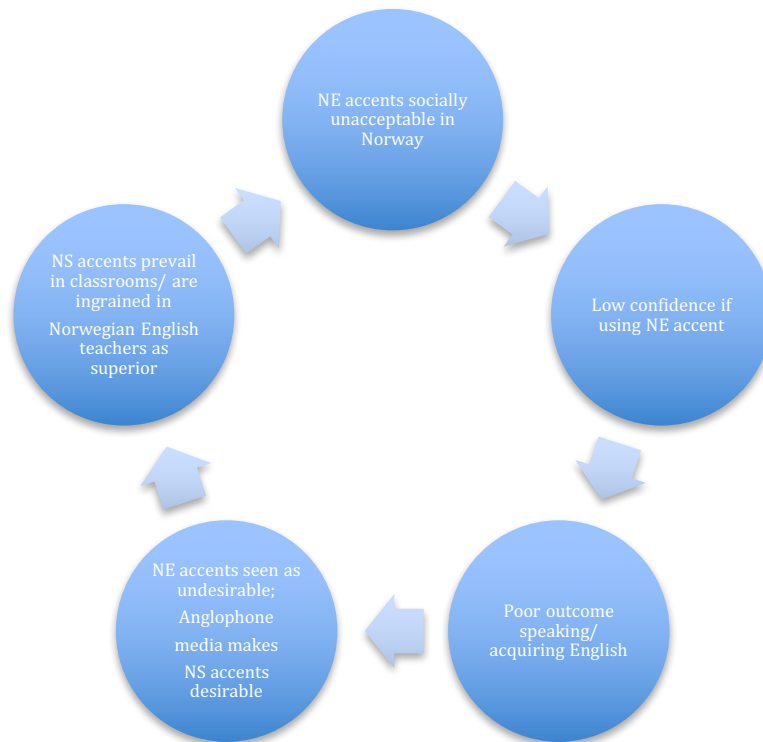


Figure 7: The 'low confidence' cycle. The cycle of stigmatization causes NE accents to be perceived as an undesirable 'out-group' quality.

5.3 Attitudes toward NS/NNS teachers in the language classroom

Lasagabaster and Sierra (2005) suggest that despite the concept of 'native speaker competence' becoming less accepted by linguists in light of world Englishes, the debate between the merits of NS and NNS language teachers is still current. When asked to reflect on the merits of NS or NNS teachers in Norway, the Norwegian and Canadian interviewees had mixed feelings; similar mixed sentiments appeared in the open-ended question results. The Norwegian interviewees had much more to say on the topic, as it is probable NNS English teachers in Norway are Norwegian and thus share the L1 of their students.

Camilla felt strongly that it was preferable for English teachers to have Norwegian as a first language when teaching in Norway: "I am not saying you cannot be a NS English teacher in Norway, but there are definitely benefits to being Norwegian... you know what [your students]

are going through, what they struggle with” (Camilla). Yet both Astrid and Berit felt that Norwegians preferred NS teachers. Astrid felt that “...in Norway people just have this very strong opinion that the native speaker is always best, no matter what language they are speaking, no matter what teaching skills you have”, while Berit expressed that NSs had certain advantages as English speakers: “I believe that if you are a native speaker you can teach certain things better, like how to speak it more like a native speaker...you know things better, automatically, intuitively”. However all three Norwegian interviewees ultimately expressed strong feelings that there were advantages and disadvantages to having both NS and NNS teachers in Norway, for different reasons.

Interestingly, the sentiments expressed in both the interviews and open-ended questions were nearly word for word aligned with the findings of Lasagabaster and Sierra (2005). These were that students (and in the case of this research, other teachers) felt that NS competence does not necessarily translate into pedagogical skill, and that in fact NNS teachers may have an advantage being language teachers, from having gone through language learning themselves and being intimately familiar with strategies that facilitate learning for L2 students. Further, many survey respondents expressed that both NS and NNS teachers had specific advantages. For native teachers, a familiarity with native speaker expressions and slang; for non-native teachers of Norwegian origin, an understanding of the steps needed to acquire the language. Again, Lasagabaster (2005) had similar findings, as the students targeted in his research praised NS English teachers for having ‘authentic pronunciation’ and ‘fluency’ as well as a direct link to a Anglophone culture, yet felt that NNS teachers were more on point with ‘accuracy’ when it came to grammar instruction. To further emphasize the point that NS and NNS are generally evaluated as both having specific, but different, advantages in the language classroom, Brutt-Griffler and Samimy (1999) found that students perceived NNS teachers as more in tune with the struggles of their NNS students and NS teachers as more ‘authentic’.

Despite the results of the open-ended questions which were almost equally positive toward both NS and NNS as English language teachers, 69 % of Norwegians and 89 % of Canadians felt that having a non-standard accent in English would affect job opportunities as an English teacher. Lippi-Green (1997) points out that as language teachers are often expected to be ‘experts of language’, students may evaluate language teachers with non-standard accents to a more rigid degree than they would evaluate other non-standard speakers. Similarly, Seidlhofer

(1999) feared that NS proficiency may be associated with teaching competence to the point that language competence overrides pedagogical competence. Interestingly, this is not what the results of the open-ended survey questions indicate. On the contrary, respondents seemed very positive toward NNS teachers.

A final conclusion must be drawn from the results of this study: despite the many positive remarks toward both NS and NNS teachers, the Norwegian results of the attitude survey suggest that while Norwegians may be positive toward NNS teachers, they feel, on a conscious or subconscious level, that it is essential that NNS teachers *do not sound Norwegian*. This points to the ‘ingrained’ nature of standard language ideologies, as the survey respondents expressed many positive reasons as to why NNS might have advantages as language teachers, yet evaluated the NE accented audio clips more negatively than the SC accent in almost every respect. This undermines the expressed positivity toward NNS teachers, as it is paradoxical to praise the experiences and insights of non-native speaker teachers in the classroom, while expecting the NNS teachers to sound like native speakers, or at any rate not to retain NE accents.

5.4 Addressing the research questions

This chapter will tie the results and the discussion into concise ‘answers’ to the specific research questions that the thesis addressed.

- 1) What attitude do the groups have toward the two accents?

The two groups had very different attitudes toward the target accents. The Canadians were fairly positive toward all three accents and rated all three similarly while the Norwegians were noticeably much more negative to both the NE accents than the Canadians. Further, the interviews revealed deep-seated differences between the attitudes of the two groups. The Norwegians expressed internalized attitudes that the NE accents were undesirable, inferior to NS accents and inappropriate for the classroom, despite being aware of World English theory and the reasons why variation should be accepted in the language classroom. In contrast, the Canadians expressed feelings that communication and comprehension should override other issues of

pronunciation, and that they believed students' aims would correlate to both location and integration aims.

The Canadians appeared more open to variation in general, but their position as Inner Circle native speakers may have led them to be unaware of the questions involved in ESL language teaching in regards to ELF. The more positive attitudes of the Canadians toward the NE accents are interpreted as a combination of a generally more open perspective, less interest in the repercussions of the research/ an ignorance of World Englishes, and a misrecognition of the NE accents as NS accents. It can be tentatively concluded from the research that NE accents are not represented through the media or otherwise in Canada, and are thus unfamiliar to Canadians.

2) How appropriate do they feel the two accents are in the classroom?

The Norwegians felt that NE accents were not appropriate or desirable in the classroom. Through the responses to the open-ended questions, they indicated a belief that NS and NNS teachers were fundamentally equal. However, through the results of the attitude surveys they conveyed that this is only the case if the NNS teacher has a native-like accent. The Norwegian interviewees communicated an understanding of the issues at hand and a regret that they were not able to accept NE accents, but felt that they simply could not shake the feeling that NE accents were not acceptable in the language classroom. They did, to a certain degree, accept an openness toward 'neutral' accents, though they ultimately preferred native-like accents for their students, themselves and Norwegians using English in public situations.

Through the results of the attitude surveys, the Canadians expressed that they felt the NE accents were very appropriate in the English language classroom; at least equally appropriate as the SC accent. Their misinterpretation of the NE accents as NS accents, with a majority of respondents believing them to be UK accents, means they might have aligned the accents with 'expert' native speakers of English and therefore rated them more positively in terms of appropriateness in the language classroom. Nevertheless, the results suggest that at a purely phonetic level, the Canadians interpreted the NE accents as examples of 'good English' and an appropriate pronunciation model for L2 English students.

3) What implications does this bring to the language classroom?

The results lead to interesting conclusions that are applicable on a practical level to the language classroom. Research suggests that NS accents are constraining and unrealistic for L2 language learners, and that poor self-confidence may negatively impact language acquisition. Despite the fact that a high percentage of Norwegian survey respondents were educated on this subject, Norwegians felt unable to fully depart from NS accents in the language classroom. They felt that their confidence as language teachers was linked to using native-like accents themselves while teaching. They believed native-like accents would create more confident students, and that removing NS models from language classrooms would pose major challenges in terms of grading or creating curriculum. The cyclical nature of stigmatization of NE accents (refer to Figure 7) means that Norwegians themselves are critical of NE accents, which in turn may lead to poor confidence when using a NE accent, and thus make it difficult to remove the stigma. The cycle of stigmatization and poor confidence makes it difficult to implement endonormative teaching models that could otherwise help shift the focus of L2 English teaching away from NS norms, for the benefit of students.

The research also has implications on a practical level in Canadian ESL classrooms. Though issues and theories of English as a lingua franca are not as obviously central to English second language classrooms in Canada, both L1 and L2 English speakers from Canada will likely engage with ELF discourse at some point, despite living in an Inner Circle country. Due to the nature of English as a global language, it is essential that English second language teachers (and arguably English first language teachers) should have at least a rudimentary understanding of the challenges and theories associated with English in light of global English variation. The Canadians appeared to be unaware of the implications of global Englishes on a theoretical level, and although they seemed generally more focused on communication and accepting of variety, they retained a feeling that English speakers who did not conform to standardized forms would be negatively judged.

6.0 Conclusions, limitations and next steps

Certain conclusions can be drawn from the findings of this thesis, that have real implications in language classrooms in Norway and Canada. During the data collection process, three Norwegian survey respondents directly contacted the researcher. These individuals expressed great interest in the topic and communicated that issues of accent and confidence personally affected them on a regular basis in the language classroom. Two other individuals informed the researcher that they could not complete the survey, as accent discrimination was something they had experienced in Norway and were greatly opposed to; thus they felt they simply could not evaluate the teachers based on the accents they heard in the audio clips.

The interest expressed by these Norwegian survey respondents, as well as the striking difference in the attitudes of the two groups, points to the fact that this research *does* have relevant implications for language pedagogy in the target countries and that these issues in Norway are, at least to a degree, ongoing today. The ignorance of Canadians toward ELF matters suggests that, despite expressing tolerant attitudes, Canadian teachers ought to be better informed of these issues during teacher training programs. Arguably, this research was limited in its breadth; a more statistical analysis of the data would be beneficial, and repeating the data collection with increased sample sizes may lead to different findings. However, the findings point to the fact that individuals are affected by these issues. The thesis provides a platform from which further research could be conducted. To conclude this research, the most significant points will be reiterated, and possible next steps will be suggested.



Figure 8: The gradient between NE accents and native-like accents. A hypothetical linear gradient between 'Norwegian accented English' and 'native-like' English, with 'neutral accent' coming in the middle.

Kirkpatrick (2011) claims that endonormative teaching models benefit both students and teachers in Outer and Expanding circle countries. Yet Kirkpatrick (2011) also points out that endonormative teaching models cannot be implemented unless the local variety of English has become socially acceptable; an ‘ingrained’ feeling that NS English accents are superior makes it implausible that Norwegians will adopt endonormative English teaching models in the near future. Despite Norway’s school system often being praised for producing proficient L2 English users, Kirkpatrick’s (2011) worry that exonormative English teaching models negatively affect students and teachers seems applicable to the situation in Norway.

Kirkpatrick (2011) states that requiring teachers to teach a model which they themselves do not speak can severely reduce their sense of self-confidence in the classroom. This sentiment aligns exactly with the results of this thesis, as confidence was a major theme, and the main reason why the Norwegian interviewees felt they could not let go of native speaker norms. While Kirkpatrick (2011) claims that the answer lies in legitimizing localized varieties, and thereby restoring self-confidence and self-esteem, Kirkpatrick himself does not offer any suggestions as to how to go about making localized varieties ‘socially acceptable’. The results of this research suggest ‘Norwegian accented English’ is stigmatized in Norway, though an alternate option of ‘neutral accented English’ may be accepted (Rindal, 2013).

The issue is that ‘neutral accents’ are a construct. All language acquisition- first or second- requires stimulation and input, and it is highly problematic to deem any accent as truly ‘neutral’, as all speech will be influenced by location, input, and in the case of most L2 speakers, the L1 phonetic system. The definition given by one of Rindal’s (2013) interviewees, that using a ‘neutral accent’ is simply speaking in “the way that feels natural,” will, for many Norwegian English students, likely include phonetic traces of the Norwegian. It is probable that speaking ‘the way that feels natural’ for a Norwegian English student will include phonetic transference from the L1, in conjunction with influence from British, American or other English accents, acquired through media or while travelling. While ‘neutral accents’ are a construct, it is possible to imagine that *Norwegians* conceive ‘neutral accents’ as existing midway on a linear plane between ‘Norwegian accented English’ and native-like English, as the point at which the phonetic transference of Norwegian is no longer obviously audible *to other Norwegian interlocutors* (Figure 8).

The results of this study suggest Norwegians reject Norwegian accented English, perhaps due to a Tajfel (1981) type desire to self-identify with the ‘in-group’ with which they are familiar through the consumption of Anglophone media. Yet Rindal (2013) did find that some Norwegians may accept ‘neutral accents’. Interestingly, though, the results of this study indicate that native English speakers from Canada may *already* evaluate Norwegian accented English as ‘neutral’, in so far as the term ‘neutral’ can be used to describe an accent. The Canadians found Norwegian accented English difficult to recognize, unproblematic in regards to comprehension, and phonetically appropriate as a pronunciation goal for English second language students. If having ‘neutral accents’ would give Norwegians the sense of confidence they both need and desire to facilitate language acquisition, and be confident English language teachers and users, then it may be the case that they do not need to actively *work toward* achieving this specific accent. The breadth of this study was limited, yet the research suggests that Inner Circle native speakers from Canada find both ‘light’ and ‘heavy’ Norwegian accents ‘neutral’.

This, however, does not solve the negative confidence cycle (Figure 7) that keeps Norwegian accented English stigmatized in Norway. Of course Canadian evaluations of Norwegian accented English do not change the way *Norwegians* evaluate Norwegian accented English. Kirkpatrick calls for endonormative teaching models; such models would surely help to bring about Jenkins’ (1998) paradigm shift. Drawing conclusions from this research, the logical next step to be taken is to explore how the negative confidence cycle (Figure 7) can be broken, in order to make the implementation of endonormative teaching models feasible in Norway. There is, unfortunately, not enough space in this thesis to discuss how to bring about this change.

Kirkpatrick’s (2011) endnormative teaching model, even in a European country where Kirkpatrick claims lingua franca teaching models are generally quite accepted, presents a “chicken and the egg” scenario. Endonormative teaching models cannot be implemented in Norway until Norwegian accented English is socially acceptable; Norwegian accented English will not be socially acceptable until endonormative teaching models are implemented. Due to the deep feeling of aversion toward Norwegian accented English “ingrained” in the Norwegian interviewees, as well as the telling results of the surveys, radically changing the curriculum to incorporate only localized models of English likely will not be successful in Norway. Instead, an attempt might be made to introduce a wider diversity of Englishes/language use in the classroom, or by having informed discussions with students about linguistic diversity and lingua francas. It

might help to discuss the results of this thesis, or other similar research efforts, with language students. Students could be informed that from an ‘outsider’ perspective, ‘neutral accents’ are something they already have; this knowledge may alleviate the desire to acquire native-like accents, and diminish the low self-esteem that occurs when unrealistic aims are not met.

Certain conclusions drawn from this research do have implications for Canadian ESL teaching as well. The status of English as a lingua franca means clear communication is the responsibility of speakers from *each* of Kachru’s (1992) concentric circles. Despite the fact that, as Calvin rightly stated, ESL students in Canada will likely wish to fit into English speaking Canadian society, it is still the responsibility of ESL teachers and students in Canada to be informed of the implications of using and learning English today. The results of this thesis suggest that Canadian ESL teachers have little knowledge about ELF/World Englishes, or the implications of following native speaker ideals. Consequently, it seems that Canadian teacher training curriculum should perhaps be revised to give more focus to ELF/World Englishes issues. Educating Canadian teachers on this subject would be beneficial to students and teachers in Canadian ESL classrooms by creating critical discussions about the necessity of aiming toward, or likelihood of attaining, native speaker accents. Further, a greater knowledge of ELF/World Englishes in Canada would contribute to creating a balance between the global English speaking community as a whole by leveling native speakers and non-native speakers, when historically the burden of ‘good communication’ has fallen to non-native speakers alone.

As a final conclusion, it can be stated that the results of this research suggest that Norwegians may be their own worst enemy when it comes to the stigmatization of Norwegian accented English, and the perpetration of an unrealistic accent goals. The Norwegian interviewees were aware of the theory behind World Englishes, and wished to be accommodating for their students, but could not shake the “ingrained feeling that some Englishes are better than others”. Canadians seemed more focused on communication based teaching, but should not be too easily let off the hook as they too seemed committed to standard language ideologies to a certain degree. More research is required to explore strategies to alleviate the stigmatization of Norwegian accented English, in order to implement an endonormative teaching model in Norway. In Canada, a revision of the Canadian teacher training program to increase awareness of ELF/World Englishes would be beneficial to both Canadian ESL students and teachers, and to the global community of English users as a whole.

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8.0 Appendix

8.1 Appendix A: the attitude survey

The attitude surveys were created on the online survey platform called Typeform. The actual survey consumes a lot of space due to the formatting and graphics of the survey program. For the sake of brevity, most of the graphics have been removed and the questions from the attitude survey have been transcribed here.

The text used in the audio clips

From Room on the Broom by Julia Donaldson and Axel Scheffler

The witch had a cat
and a very tall hat,
and long ginger hair
which she wore in a plait.

How the cat purred
and how the witch grinned,
as they sat on their broomstick
and flew through the wind.

But how the witch wailed
and how the cat spat,
When the wind blew so wildly
it blew off the hat.

The attitude survey

For this survey, ESL refers to students who have a first language that is NOT English. You will have to listen to 3 audio clips during the survey. It is recommended you wear a pair of headphones or find somewhere quiet to sit.

For this survey, ESL refers to students who have a first language that is NOT English



You will have to listen to 3 audio clips during this survey. It is recommended you wear a pair of headphones or find somewhere quiet to sit.



Part 1: Getting to know you

1. Have you completed teachers college or pedagogical teacher training at a university level?

Yes/No

2. Do you or have you used English as the language of instruction when teaching ESL students?

Yes /No

3. Are you a prospective teacher who will use English as the language of instruction with ESL students? (i.e. currently in teacher's college/university level pedagogical studies).

Yes/No

4. Type the name of the country where you were born and raised.

5. Everyone has an accent when they speak English. With that in mind, what would you say your accent in English is closest to?

General NorthAmerican/ General British/ Norwegian/ My accent is not easy to place/ My accent is from somewhere else.

6. What is your first language?

Norwegian/ English/Other

7. Are you satisfied with your accent when you speak English?


Yes totally/ Yes a little/ No, not completely/ Not at all/ I have never thought about my accent whatsoever

8. Have you lived abroad or studied in an English speaking country for more than 3 months?

Yes/ No

**** Questions 9 -11 were only directed to respondents who had Norwegian as an L1 ****

11 Do you form opinions/draw conclusions (positive, negative or neutral) about other Norwegians based on their accent when they speak English?



Yes, often Yes, occasionally I have before I never have

12 Would you like to sound more "native- like" when you speak English (i.e. American, British, etc.)?

Yes No

13 Would you mind if people recognized the Norwegian accent through your English?

Yes No

14 Do you think a person's accent when speaking English affects their likelihood of getting a job as an English teacher?

9. Do you form opinions/draw conclusions (positive, negative or neutral) about other Norwegians based on their accent when they speak English?

Yes, often/ Yes, occasionally/ I have before/ I never have

10. Would you like to sound more “native-like” when you speak English (.ie. American, British, etc)”?

Yes/ No

11. Would you mind if people recognized the Norwegian accent through your English?

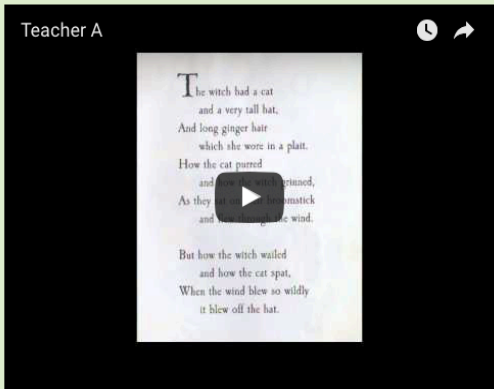
Yes/ No

12. Do you think a person's accent when speaking English affects their likelihood of getting a job as an English teacher?

Yes, definitely/ It probably has an effect/ I don't think it has much effect/ It makes no difference whatsoever

Part 2: the audio clips

Meet teacher A:
Listen carefully to teacher A's accent and answer the questions that follow. **There are no right or wrong answers, just respond with what seems natural.**



15 Is teacher A a native speaker of English?

Yes No

Imagine you are working as an English teacher. Your school hires 3 new English teachers. Listen to each of the teacher's accents in the audio clips of them reading aloud to their classes, and respond to the questions that follow. There are no right or wrong answers. Don't overthink, just answer with what feels natural.

****These questions were repeated three times. The same questions were asked following each audio clip for teachers A, B and C.****

13. Is teacher A a native speaker of English?

Yes/ No

14. I think teacher A has ___ years of university education:

5 or more years / 3 to 4 years / 1 to 2 years/ No formal education

15. I think teacher A has undergone some pedagogical teacher training/ education.

Yes, definitely/yes, maybe/ no, probably not/ no, definitely not

16. I think that students would learn ___ from teacher A:

A lot of English/ some English/ not much English/ Very little English

17. I think that teach A's students ___ :

Like her very much/ Like her/ don't like her very much/ dislike her


18. I would recommend teacher A as a private tutor for students struggling with English:

Yes, definitely/ probably/ maybe/ no

Part 3: open-ended questions

39 Are you familiar with any of the concepts listed below?

- English as a Lingua Franca
- World Englishes
- Internal English



Yes, I have learned about them I have heard of at least one of them
 I could probably guess what they mean I have never heard of those concepts

19. Are you familiar with the concepts listed below?

English as a lingua franca; World Englishes; International English.

I have learned about them/ I have heard of at least one of them/ I could probably guess what they mean/I have never heard of those concepts

20. Do you believe native speaker and non-native speaker English teachers have different merits in the ESL classroom? Please explain briefly.

21. Some researchers believe that the only pronunciation elements worthy of correction in the ESL classroom are those that affect comprehension. Any pronunciation that differs from standard pronunciation but does not affect pronunciation is thus accepted. Do you feel that pronunciation that differs from standard English pronunciation should be corrected (i.e. putting stress on a different syllable)? Why or why not?
22. Which accents do you or would you encourage your ESL students to strive towards?
23. Do you have any thoughts or opinions that you would like to share about English teaching for ESL students?

8.2 Appendix B: the interview questions

For the sake of brevity, the extra/conversational aspects have been removed from the interview outline and only the main questions are transcribed here. Questions that referred to theories of global English were explained in more detail than are displayed here.

Interview consent form

This consent form is to signify that I volunteer to participate in an interview that will contribute to a research project conducted by Rachel Dykeman. The interview is designed to add to a body of research that will form the basis of a masters thesis in Linguistics and Language Acquisition at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. By signing this form, I understand and consent to the following points:

1. My participation is voluntary. I understand that I will not be paid for my participation, and that I may withdraw and discontinue participation at any point in time.
2. Participation in the project involves an individual interview. Notes may be written during the session and an audio recording of the interviews will be made. If I do not wish to be taped, I will not be able to participate in the study. The recording will be deleted after it has been transcribed and excerpts may be included in the thesis.
3. If I feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview session, I have the right to decline to answer any question or to end the session.
4. I understand that the researcher will not identify me by name in the thesis, and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure.

5. I have read and understand the explanation provided to me. I have had all my questions answered and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.
6. I have been given a copy of this consent form.

Signature of the Participant

Signature of the Researcher

Date

The interview questions

1. If you were to be completely honest, is pronunciation in the classroom (your own or your students) something you think very much about on a regular basis? Do you think it deserves thinking about?
2. Can you think of a time when you *did* reflect on pronunciation in English in the classroom, and why it mattered?
3. I want to ask you what varieties of English pop into your head when I say "proper", "standard" or "correct" English? Whose English do you look towards for that standard?
4. As a teacher, what would you consider an ideal pronunciation goal for students? Would it be preferable if students achieved an English pronunciation a) with recognizable traces of their L1 still apparent (be it Norwegian, French, etc.), b) or with no recognizable traces of any particular accent (what one would call neutral) c) or rather if they sounded recognizably British or North American (or some other strand of native speaker English)?
5. In what ways do you feel it would benefit the students to achieve that (aforementioned) pronunciation goal?

6. What would you say has most affected your own accent in English? Is it something you actively worked towards or has it naturally evolved? If you have worked towards it, where do you find inspiration for your accent?
7. In what ways, if any, has your accent been a factor in your experience as an English teacher (in your journey towards finding a job, or in your interactions with other teachers or students, etc.) ?
8. Do you think advantages or disadvantages exist to using native or non-native English language teachers? If so, can you expand on what you feel they might be?
9. In the survey, there was also a question of whether or not you are familiar with concepts of English as a Lingua Franca, world englishes, international english, etc. Are you familiar with those concepts? It is perfectly ok if you aren't that familiar with them, as I will explain them a bit further.
10. Do you feel that all strands of English are equally valid (native and non-native accented English), and why or why not? What implications might it have in your classroom or teaching methods if all strands were equally valid?
11. What would it mean to you as a teacher if the only "errors" that should be corrected for your ESL students were those that affected communication? For example, if your students used non-standard pronunciation or expressions while giving an oral presentation?
12. In what ways, if any, do you think language teachers (yourself included) today already recognize the validity of varieties of English that differ from standard varieties?
13. A researcher called Alptekin (Alptekin, 2002), for example, openly rejects the so-called native speaker norms by claiming that the native speaker model is utopian, unrealistic and constraining in relation to EIL. If teachers get on board with Alptekin's rejection of native speaker models, do you predict difficulties to arise for teachers? Why or why not?

14. Lastly, do you think a change in the teaching of pronunciation is actually important? Should today and tomorrow's teachers be aware of the way that standard native language dominance and ideologies might not fit all their students? Do you think that this topic has or does not have much affect on students' experience or benefits what so ever?

8.3 Appendix C: the pilot study

The pilot study tested whether Canadians and Norwegians evaluated 7 different accents as NS or NNS accents, in order to determine whether the accents chosen for the matched-guise test were credible. Randomly dispersed within the 7 accents were the 3 accents that were used for the audio-clips in the attitude survey. Only the responses to the accents used for the audio clips are demonstrated in Figure 9. There were 11 Canadian respondents and 12 Norwegian respondents to the pilot study.

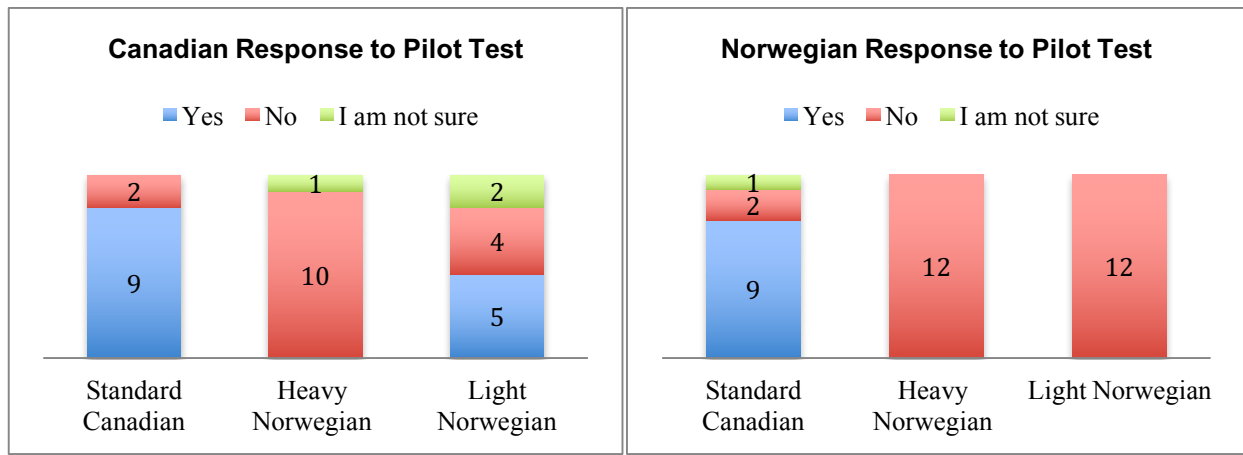


Figure 9: Canadian and Norwegian pilot test results. The pilot test tested whether Norwegians would recognize both NE accents as NNS (presumably Norwegian) accents, which they did. It was also vital to the methodology that the grand majority of Norwegian and Canadians evaluated the SC accent as a NS accent, which they did. There were 11 Canadian respondents and 12 Norwegian respondents.

8.4 Appendix E: Determining the provenance of the accents

Figures 10, 11 and 12 show the survey results to the questions asking the provenance of the accents. As 50 out of 50 Norwegians determined that the ‘heavy’ NE accent was from Norway and 49 out of 50 Norwegians determined the ‘light’ NE accent was from Norway, it was considered unnecessary to demonstrate those findings. Therefore the Norwegian (Figure 10) and Canadian (Figure 11) interpretations of the SC accent and the Canadian interpretations of the light NE accent (Figure 12) are shown here in appendix E. The Canadian responses to the ‘heavy’ NE accent are shown in chapter 4.1a (Figure 3).

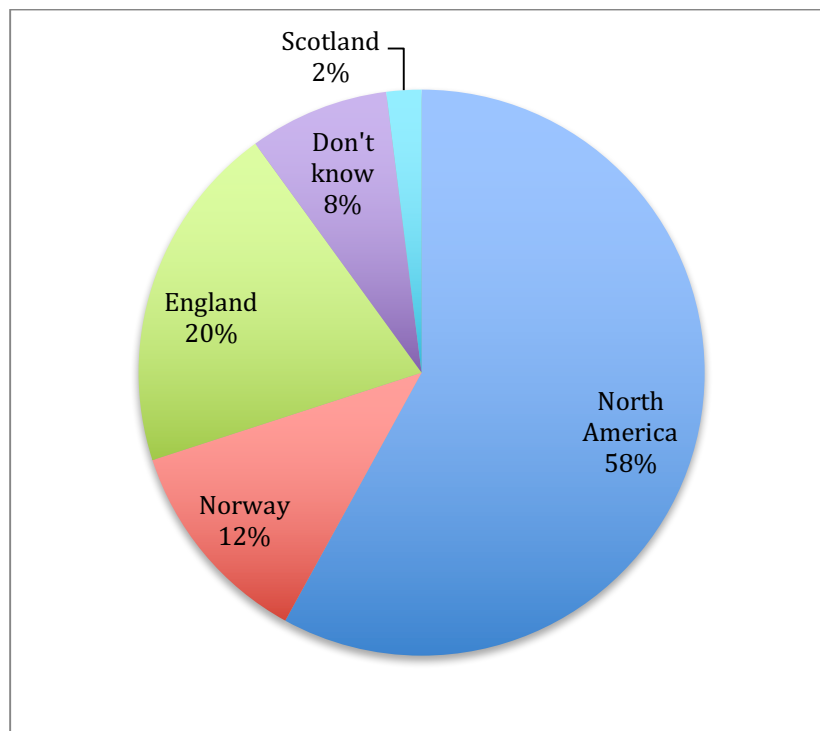


Figure 10: Norwegian interpretation of provenance of SC accent. There were 50 respondents. 78 % ($N=29$) of the Norwegian respondents thought the SC accent belonged to a NS of English. 12 % believed the accent belonged to a Norwegian speaker.

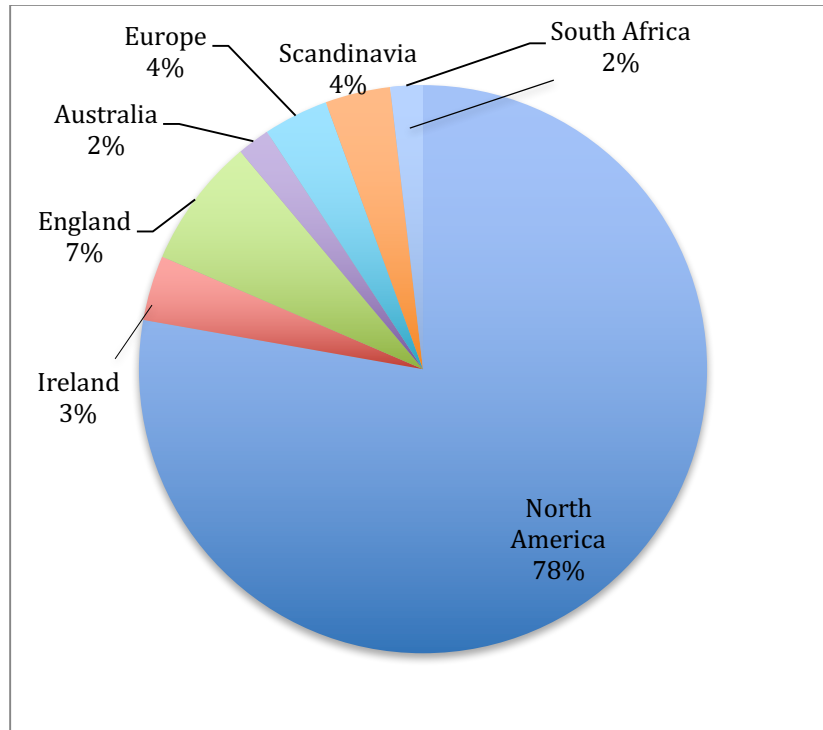


Figure 11: Canadian interpretation of provenance of the SC accent. There were 57 respondents. More Canadians than Norwegians believed the SC accent belonged to a North American speaker of Canadians believed the accent belonged to a North American speaker. In total 78 % which means that the accent was credible and acceptable to be used as a benchmark NS accent in the attitude surveys.

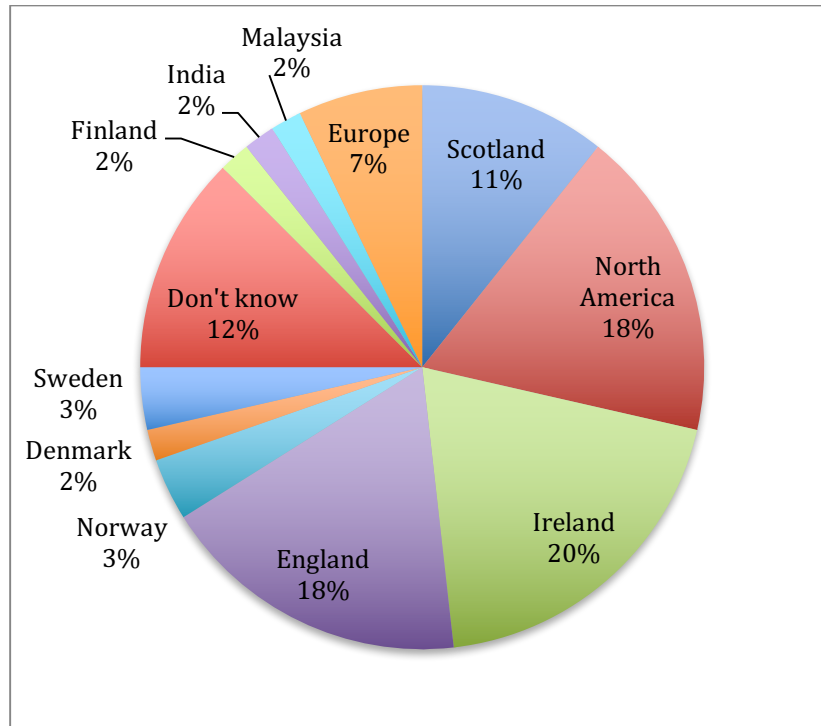


Figure 12: Canadian interpretations of provenance of light NE. Canadians did not recognize the light NE accent. Their guesses as to the provenance of the light NE accent are more even more diverse than their guesses as to the provenance of the heavy NE accent (refer to Figure 3 in chapter 4.1a).